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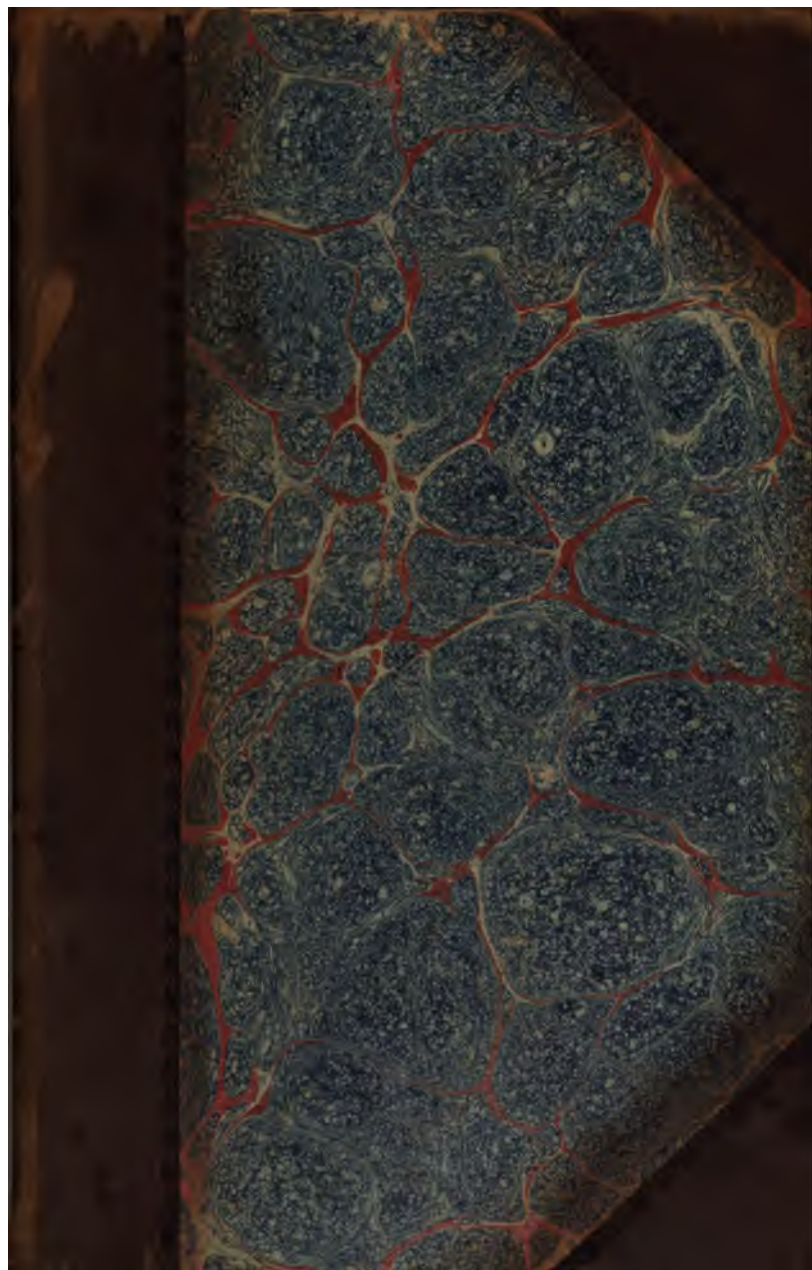
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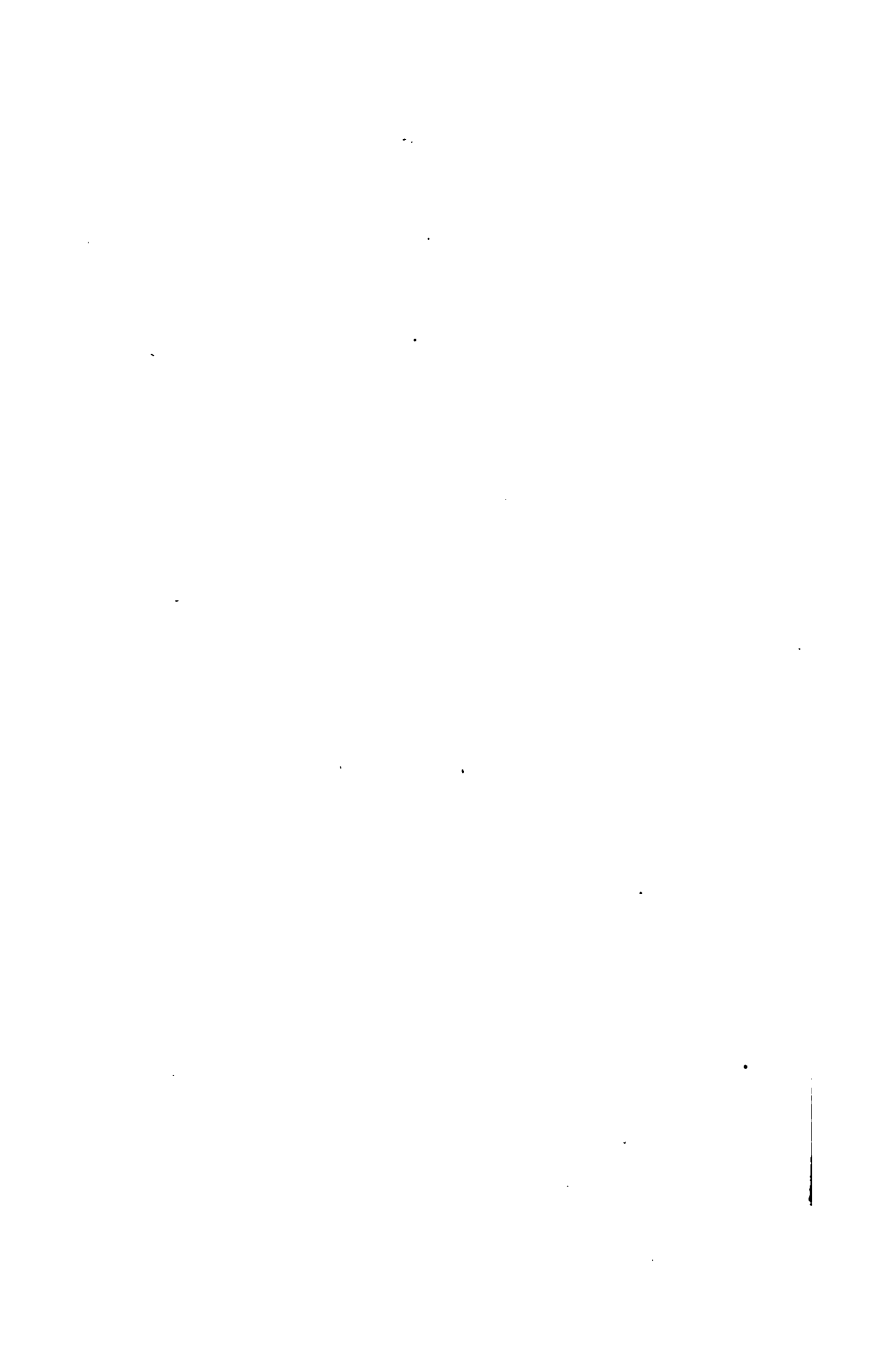
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A PILGRIMAGE

BY SEA AND LAND

OR,

MANIFESTATIONS OF THE DIVINE GUIDANCE
AND PROVIDENCE

IN THE LIFE OF

JOHN CHRISTIAN STAHLSCHMIDT,

PARTICULARLY IN HIS TRAVELS IN ALL THE FOUR QUARTERS
OF THE WORLD.

WRITTEN BY HIMSELF.

FROM THE GERMAN,

BY J. JACKSON,

TRANSLATOR OF HEINRICH STILLING, TERSTEEGEN, KOELLNER, &c.

LONDON:

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INTRODUCTION,

BY

JUNG-STILLING.

THE remarkable and instructive biography contained in the following pages, is a faithful narrative of the purifying and sanctifying dispensations of God in the life and experience of an individual, whose humility and modesty prevent me from saying anything in his praise ; this is, however, unnecessary, since the work itself is a sufficient commendation, or rather, shows forth the praises of Him who especially governs and directs all the events, sufferings, and joys, of those who yield themselves up to his guidance.

The perusal of the following pages will show that their author was a man of no common attainments in the divine life, and that his path, like that of the just, shone increasingly brighter, until the perfect day.

His trials and sufferings were of a kind which do not fall to the lot of the generality of Christians, and were not limited to outward circumstances of an afflictive nature, but extended also in a particular manner to his internal state. Hence resulted a conformity to the divine will, and a profound peace of soul, which neither inward nor outward sufferings could any more disturb or destroy.

But these high attainments in spirituality may render it the more difficult for the generality of christian readers to form a right estimate of the character of the author. To assist them in doing so, I shall subjoin a brief sketch of the state of religion in Germany, especially with reference to those persons who by their writings or labours, produced any extraordinary effect upon the piety of the people. For it is a fact of general observation, that the future bias and tendency of the religious life of an individual almost invariably takes its direction from the particular society and connexion in which he receives his first impressions, or from those religious works which fall in his way at such a period. This was the case with our author, who, for a length of time, studied almost exclusively the writings of an author in general little understood, and which were calculated to give a peculiar tinge to his religious life. The opinion he subsequently expresses upon them, must be regarded as valuable, since it exhibits the impartial sentiments

of one who had previously drunk deeply of the spirit of those writings, and had frequent opportunities of observing their effects upon others.

It was not until after these had begun to lose their influence over him, that he became acquainted with the eminently pious 'Tersteegen, in whose conversation and writings he found such an echo to his own experience, and such a guide for his future advancement in the divine life, that the whole of his future course assimilated itself closely to the model thus set before him, and served at the same time as a confirmation of the enlightened and highly spiritual system, if such it can be called, of that excellent and distinguished individual. In the course of the brief sketch subjoined, we shall have occasion to introduce both the former and the latter to our readers, and in order to do so, we must commence it at a comparatively early period.

The Reformation had liberated a large proportion of the population of Germany from the dominion of the clergy. Previously it was a duty to believe what the church dictated; but now the case, with the mass of the Protestants, was similar to that of the Israelites at the period, concerning which it is said, "In those days there was no king in Israel, but every man did that which was right in his own eyes." The consistories, indeed, and some of the clergy, began to watch over their articles of faith, which had been established

by imperial decrees and treaties of peace, and the civil power energetically aided them in this ; however, every one had something which he was able to read. The Bible, as the universal basis of religion, was translated into the vernacular tongue, and might be had cheap in every book-shop ; hence there were a number of individuals, some talented, others self-conceited, and others again of a fantastic turn of mind, who either saw further, or imagined they did so, or even wished to become reformers themselves. These individuals were desirous of making use of their republican liberty ; they appeared before the public, either as teachers or authors, and, according to the nature of the case, became enthusiasts, or heads of more or less numerous sects. Whether such a state of things can consist with the kingdom of truth, is a question which the great apostle himself answers in the affirmative when he says, " There must needs be divisions among you, that the truth may be made manifest." When every one is at liberty to think as he pleases, millions of doctrines appear, which every one may test ; hence a general ferment arises, which gives the spirit more light and purity.

Many of the enthusiasts and sects of the sixteenth century have already disappeared from modern recollections, except when recalled by the page of ecclesiastical history. There are, however, two individuals of that age, whose memoirs still exist, and who still

imperceptibly exercise an influence on the religious world, which may probably extend itself far into the future. The one is Simon Menno, the head of the sect of Anabaptists, and the other, the celebrated Jacob Behmen.* The Anabaptists quietly pursue their course, and their religious tenets differ so little from those of other Protestants, that the difference rests merely upon another uniform, and their existence no longer produces any movement in the general ferment; but the effects of Behmen's writings continue secretly to be very powerful amongst the common people. His extremely figurative language, which is sublime with all its simplicity, the astonishing subjects of which he treats, and the refined *gnosis* which beams forth in all his writings, notwithstanding his frequently absurd expressions and phraseology, make such an impression upon the unlearned, particularly if the fire of imagination glows in them, and the desire after perfection at the same time animates the heart, that arch-enthusiasts are very soon formed, unless they timely return to the simple path of the ecclesiastical faith; but the difficulty of this can only be judged of by him, who has once tasted of the sweetness of the spirit of enthusiasm.

But though Behmen may have made, and still makes, many enthusiasts, it is still a question whether he was one himself. I call that man an enthusiast

* More properly, James Böehme.

who clothes rational inferences and conceptions of truth in the airy dress of fancy, and then regards these ideas as the naked truth, and lifts them out with a lively energy on the stage of his inward life. The fanatic, on the contrary, regards as truth all the animate conceptions of the imagination, and even gives them out as divine inspiration. These latter characters are extremely dangerous, whilst the former often prove excellent instruments in the hands of Providence, and are very seldom productive of injury. Amongst these we must place Behmen; a great part of his doctrines accord with the pure religion of Christ, another part is philosophical, and by no means injuriously hypothetical; and the remainder incapable of any explanation, and completely useless.

But notwithstanding this, Behmen's writings have occasionally produced mischievous consequences. They are principally for philosophers, who know how to separate the pure from the impure; and then much that is useful may be found in them.* This is not my opinion only, but also that of many intelligent, and anything but enthusiastic individuals. But I proceed further.

The seventeenth century was warlike. The minds

* It is a singular fact that Behmen's writings have very recently occupied the attention of some of the German universities; where they have been treated simply philosophically.

---*Note of the Translator.*

of men had no time for speculation, but sought to retain that which they already possessed. What had been done at the period of the Reformation was then in part reaped, but the spirit of enthusiasm still continued its operations; the Paracelsic sect of physicians in particular had much influence upon it. John Baptista, Francis Mercurius, Van Helmont, and some others, produced a sort of system; others connected Behmen's sentiments with it, and thus wonderful things came to light. During this period, Thomasius and Gottfried Arnold, by their uncommon learning, sought to divest truth of the sectarianism in which it had become enveloped; and the latter in particular, by his excellent example, for he was a very pious man, and by his distinguished ability, employed the glow of enthusiasm to aid the acquirement of christian perfection. His history shows how inexpressibly beneficial he was to the christian world. Numbers of people secretly read works of this nature; many combined those of Paracelsus with them; there was also no want of well-meaning and deceptive alchymists; and thus enthusiasm continued its influence amid the din of war; but where the seed fell upon good ground, excellent characters were silently formed, who, purified by the severe pressure of the times, were bound up in bundles, and gathered into the eternal garner.

Peace at length ensued. Louis XIV. was at that

time the power that moved all Europe. His court was regarded as the school of politeness and good taste. The German nobility, hitherto rude and ignorant, travelled thither ; but instead of bringing back superior intelligence with them, they brought France, and planted it in the midst of Germany. In process of time it became a disgrace to be a true German ; this was left to the vulgar ; the refined man of the world was a perfect Frenchman. Meanwhile we also became acquainted with French literature, which had again much influence on the minds of the Germans.

Jansenism was at that time making progress in France ; and it cannot be denied that there were many excellent men amongst that sect. These individuals professed a high degree of spirituality, which had been previously little known in Germany. But it is necessary that I briefly explain the nature of it.

The monastic life was originally instituted that opportunity might be afforded of attending exclusively to religious exercises without the slightest care or hindrance. To be active, from a principle of love to God and man in promoting the perfecting of the human race, was at that time no part of religion, but a thing of minor importance and a consequence of it ; at least it was thought that it did not contribute towards attaining conformity to the divine image ; pious institutions and almsgivings formed the whole

sphere of the philanthropy of the monastic Christian. Fasting, daily prayers at appointed hours, and church ceremonies constituted the entire life of a conventual, and the holiness of the Christian was founded upon the strictest fulfilment of these duties. But every age had produced able and upright individuals of both sexes, who clearly perceived that works of this nature contributed little towards moral perfection. The basis of the latter consists in likeness to God ; to attain the latter, these enlightened teachers established certain principles, around which the whole sphere of spiritual life revolved. They are briefly as follows :

“ God is an eternal, infinitely loving, and supremely meek Being ; supreme goodness, and supreme wisdom ; in him is the source of all felicity and all true joy.

“ Man is (by nature) exactly the reverse ; he loves himself alone, and others only in so far as they promote the objects of his self-love, and he hates and combats whatever opposes him in it. He is the sport of his passions and impetuous in his will ; very shortsighted and weak in his understanding, and unhappy and dissatisfied in his natural state.

“ Christ, by the work of redemption, has acquired for mankind the capability of attaining to conformity with God, by the exertion of the powers they possess, and the use of the proper means ; Christ has atoned

for those who pass through this painful process, but for none else. His atoning blood cancels only the sins of weakness, and such as being already committed, can no longer be repaired, in so far as they are heartily repented of; all the rest must be purified after death by severe sufferings.

“The path of the Christian, therefore, begins with his forming a firm resolution to sin no more, but to become unceasingly perfect; for this purpose the following means are requisite:—

“1. Constant watchfulness over the thoughts and imagination, in which the individual gently turns away from every thought and idea, and in reality thinks nothing, but is merely conscious of himself. This is called introversion.

“2. This consciousness must be continually directed to the presence of God, so that the person thinks of nothing, in the true sense of the term, but of Him, and connects with it a constant longing after union with him, perfect resignation to him, and a complete dependence upon him. This is called walking in the presence of God; and the profound desire and longing of the soul after likeness to God, inward or unceasing prayer.

“Lastly. Since many temptations and hindrances occur in consequence of intercourse with mankind, the individual must seek solitude, and remove as much as possible from mankind. For the same reason, and

because the impulse to procreation fills the soul with earthly lusts, which remove it to a distance from God, it is better to live single than in the married state."

Every intelligent reader must confess that these doctrines were calculated to effect much good amongst those who were piously disposed in the convents; and they really produced extraordinarily good and excellent men. There are three persons particularly remarkable, who were highly esteemed in the Catholic Church—St. Catherine, of Sienna; St. Catherine, of Genoa; and Johannes à Cruce. Molinos belongs also to the number, although some additional peculiarities are met with in his system; all four were in reality excellent characters.

About this time an extraordinary female appeared in France—the celebrated Jeanne Marie Bavière de la Mothe Guyon, who felt from her cradle an unwonted impulse to become a saint. Children are frequently met with, who, from the commencement, discover the vocation to which they appear to be destined; and such was the case with this child. The lives of the saints and conversing upon them so inflamed her, that she was unwilling to see or hear of anything else. This continued to be the predominating principle and aim of her life, in the pursuit of which, she passed through great sufferings. But she entirely avoided spiritual pride, the rock on which such persons easily split; for she placed the ground

of perfection in the example of the humility of Jesus Christ, and hence she concealed, as much as possible, everything that might in any measure tend to her praise. In short, whatever may be said of her and her writings, true, genuine virtue, meekness of character, excessive goodness of heart, and an all-comprehensive philanthropy, constituted the portions of this lady in her active life.

After the decease of her husband, whom she consented to marry merely from obedience to her parents, she clothed herself like a nun, and remained a widow the rest of her life. She then began to appear publicly as a teacher, became known, and was esteemed by many persons of high rank. Amongst others, she was sought out by Francis de Salignac-Fenelon, governor to one of the princes of the blood, who is known to all Europe by his "Telemachus," and to the friends of religion by his spiritual writings. Madame Guyon became his spiritual guide; he imbibed her principles, and had to thank her alone for his spiritual attainments. He afterwards became Archbishop of Cambray, and continued his acquaintance with her till her death.

Her numerous writings caused an astonishing sensation at the close of the seventeenth and beginning of the eighteenth century, throughout Europe, but particularly in Germany. The purest and fairest mystic divinity which breathes in every page, in the

gentle and simple language of the heart, without bombast or fanaticism, captivated high and low, the learned and unlearned. The number of her adherents in all parts was astonishing, and continued to be so. She continued true to the doctrines of the Romish church, and there is nothing in all her writings to which the strictest censorship, or even the terrible inquisition, could have objected.

I have hitherto mentioned only those persons, who have contributed most to the general formation of the German national spirit, with reference to a good or evil enthusiasm; but they are by no means all who are deserving of notice.* However, I cannot refrain from noticing two English writers, who have also contributed much to the colouring of the painting. John Pordage and Jane Leade wrote works, which if regarded even merely as the offspring of a heated imagination, are sublime in their ideas, and in one word, British in their deportment. They found translators in Germany, and thus came into the hands of those who were fond of such writings.† The rest of the

* For further interesting particulars respecting German sectarians, the reader is referred to a small publication from the writings of Stilling, entitled, "Instructive Narrations."

† It is a remarkable fact, that several of the works of both these authors were translated and published in Germany, which never came to light in this country.—*Note of the Translator.*

English sects did not extend themselves to this country, and had, therefore, no further influence upon it.

Meanwhile, a very worthy and learned man, named Peter Pairer, resided in the Netherlands, who was also entirely devoted to mystic divinity. He was a pupil of Fenelon's, and had formed himself completely after his model ; he had also, if I mistake not, cultivated a personal acquaintance with the celebrated and pious Antoinette Bourignon ; at least, she was still living in the Netherlands at the same period. He translated the writings of Madame Guyon, Mademoiselle Bourignon, Johannes à Cruce, and many other writers of the same class, into German, and thus they came into every one's hands. He likewise translated the excellent writings of Thomas à Kempis. By these labours, as well as by his extremely moral and beneficent mode of life, he caused an extraordinary sensation in the surrounding provinces. This was during the first twenty years of the eighteenth century ; and from thence his influence extended through the whole of Germany.

To the doctrines above stated must be added an extremely powerful and influential hypothesis—the doctrine of the restitution of all things. A certain Dr. Peterson wrote a tract upon “ the Divine Economy,” in a fiery oriental style, which bore such a resemblance to the tone of Scripture, that the minds of those who were susceptible of it, were quite capti-

vated by it, and believed Peterson entirely. His doctrine was chiefly founded upon this position, that no one in this life is able to attain to that high degree of purity requisite for the bliss of heaven and the vision of God, and that, therefore, a purification after death is needful. Thus far Peterson agreed with the Catholic mystics; but there was added to this, that wicked men, and even evil spirits, were in the purifying fire of divine love; so that every creature, according to its degree of wickedness, will have to endure a longer or shorter period of torment; but, at length, everything will return to its original source, and God become all in all. To this by no means modern doctrine, so pleasing and attractive to the human understanding, was also added that of the millennium, together with the first and second resurrection. This was, in fact, Peterson's favourite topic; he taught the christian doctrine sublimely and purely, and without any intermixture of carnal, earthly, and sensible ideas. Peterson, who lived in the north of Germany, soon gained a great number of adherents, and added another shade to the picture.

But whilst this influence operated so powerfully upon the mass of the people, and occasionally gave rise to new sectarian teachers, the slothfulness and drowsiness of the clergy was astonishing, as well as their ignorance and inability in the discharge of their pastoral functions; whilst, at the same time, their

unbending haughtiness was more to blame with respect to the spread of sectarianism than the sectarians themselves. The listening to a wretched sermon which no one understood—baptism, the outward reception of the sacrament, and such like merely external means, constituted in their eyes the essence of religion, and every one who thought and acted otherwise, was tyrannised over. By this, I by no means wish to depreciate those highly-venerated men, who, in particular places, shone as lights in the darkness ; I am only speaking of the generality of the clergy. Thus the people became increasingly enlightened, whilst they continued far behind. In this manner, the intelligent amongst the former imbibed a prejudice against the clerical profession, and thus the foundation was laid for sectarianism and unbelief. The Rev. Mr. Stollbein was wont to say, when people went from his parish to other churches, " Every sow ought to remain at its own trough !!! " Truly a beautiful allusion to the state of the church of Christ ! when the swineherds pour forth husks for their swine, and when the sheep are scourged for refusing to eat of them. Such was the state of the Protestant church throughout Germany during the first half of the eighteenth century. Excellent men, such as Spencer, Arnold, Schuden, &c., often lamented it, and their writings fully confirm the statement now made.

Just at this period, there lived at Mühlheim, on the Ruhr, a very remarkable, and in every respect estimable man, the late Gerhard Tersteegen. If ever any teacher extended his influence through the whole of Germany, and continued to do so after his decease by his writings, he did so. For although this influence did not reach the great and the mighty, yet it so much the more strongly evidenced itself amongst the common people.

It would carry me too far, were I minutely to relate his life, and particularise his writings;* I will, therefore, content myself with noticing that which is of the most importance in his life and character. In his outward deportment he was extremely pleasant and amiable, cheerful and lively, but at the same time serious and solemn in company. At first he adhered strictly to the mystic system, but gradually gave it a milder and evangelical form. His principles were briefly as follows :—

“ The Christian ought to form an invincible resolution to become as perfect as possible, and take the life and doctrine of the Saviour as his pattern.

“ The means for this purpose are, walking before God—that is, a constant introversion and inwardness, so that the attention is continually directed to that

* See Life and Extracts from the Writings of Gerhard Tersteegen. Third Edition.

which passes in the soul, and every inclination, not acceptable to God, is choked in the birth.

“ With this exercise, unceasing or inward prayer must be connected, which consists in a continued inclination to, and an habitual dependence upon, God, even in the smallest matters.

“ All this must be practised in a state of constant tranquillity and inward humiliation before God.

“ In order to render it easy, the individual must seek solitude and retirement as much as is consistent with his outward calling,” &c.

However little Tersteegen sought to become known, yet he gradually became so in a great degree. His writings were printed and found a rapid sale. In one word, he was an excellent man. Though his gospel may continue to be foolishness to the wise of this world, yet he has certainly produced more true Christians than any one since the times of the apostles. This, though saying much, is assuredly true, for his adherents are very numerous amongst the mass of the people, from Amsterdam to Bern, and of all the different shades of pietists, they are undoubtedly the best; I have never met with such worthy men as amongst them.

Tersteegen was beneficent in the highest degree, in the true spirit of christian charity. He had no property but what he gained by his little trade, and yet he gave food and employment to numbers of the poor.

Many poor children were also religiously trained up in his house, and he assisted every one who came to him both in word and deed ; for he possessed a much more extensive knowledge of the world than might have been supposed. In a word, he was universally beloved, and one who did honour to religion in the opinion of all classes of mankind.

He has now faithfully finished his work. In order to be the better fitted for it, he was obliged to walk the painful path of self-denial and mortification. Had he been married, he could not have so entirely devoted himself to his calling ; and hence he was compelled, after the example of our Redeemer, to exercise himself long in solitude, and learn something himself, before he could teach others.

Those, however, greatly err, who desire to live single, solitary, and retired, because Tersteegen did so. Spiritual exercises are merely the means, by the use of which we are enabled to become the more useful to the kingdom of God here below ; but by no means the object itself.

Such was the state of religion in Germany at the time our author returned home from his perilous voyages to the East, in which he had been deprived of all the customary means of grace, and found none with whom he could hold christian fellowship. But

so much the more close and intimate had been his fellowship with God, and the more profound his inward experience. He was, therefore, prepared to imbibe the spirit of Tersteegen's writings, and to place himself under that eminent Christian's spiritual direction, as long as he was continued here below. But then the disciple had already learnt sufficient in the school of Christ, to become, in his turn, a teacher of others, and he rose in another hemisphere to enlighten many who sat in darkness, and to guide their feet into the way of peace.

MEMOIR.

CHAPTER I

Birth and juvenile years—Paternal severity, and its effects—
Incipient desire for knowledge.

I WAS born on the 3rd of March, 1740, at Freudenberg, in the principality of Nassau-Siegen. My father was lieutenant of the district, and of eight children I was the eldest son. I had naturally a strong and healthy constitution, and the years of my childhood and boyhood passed cheerfully and happily away.

My disposition was volatile, and I was therefore unable to apply myself to one subject for any length of time; hence I found it very difficult to commit to memory the lessons given me at school. This occasioned me to be often severely treated, which however produced such a contrary effect upon me, that I was only embittered by it, and exerted myself so much

the less to learn the tasks assigned me. My memory was not defective, for I could easily retain and afterwards relate the narratives I had read and heard ; but it seemed impossible to me to learn a number of questions and answers from the catechism all at once, for, without great effort, I could not occupy myself with anything which I did not remember after having once read it over.

I was passionately fond of birds and company, and could have hazarded and sacrificed everything for the sake of a faithful companion ; but this extreme fondness for society caused me to become a wild and dissolute boy.

My mother gave herself much trouble in endeavouring from my youth up to render me virtuous and devout. She never neglected to pray with her children both morning and evening, and exhorted us unceasingly to the practice of that which is good. She was a kind, pious, and affectionate parent ; to me she felt a particular attachment, and I also loved her cordially in return.

My father, on the contrary, was a very severe man, who seldom caressed us, but spake to us in an imperative tone, and when his commands were not obeyed, stripes were sure to follow. But treatment of this kind produced no good effect upon me. He that kindly and affectionately admonished me, and showed me my faults and misconduct with a gentle and pru-

dent seriousness, in order that I might amend, could make me heartily repent and weep over my vile actions without having recourse to blows. If I was treated with severity, or beaten in anger, all was lost upon me, and correction was unavailing. It rendered me timid, indeed, but so little was I amended by it, that I generally fell into a passion, and was violently enraged; whilst, in the commission of any culpable act, I had recourse to every species of subterfuge and falsehood to avoid correction.

Youthful games, which required much corporal motion and exertion, constituted my greatest pleasure; and because my lively and active disposition could not long be at rest, I constantly sought amusement, in which I delighted excessively. This propensity for pleasure often carried me away in such a manner, that I went out against my father's commands, or remained out beyond the time, although I knew beforehand that the whip awaited me on my return home. But with all my fondness for company, quarrelsome and mischievous boys were extremely repugnant and intolerable to me.

When I grew a little older, I was put to business, which caused me to forget my attachment to birds and youthful sports. I had made tolerable proficiency at school in writing and arithmetic, and had also been instructed in the first principles of the Latin language. My parents had two forges, one of which

belonged to them, the other they rented; besides which they possessed much landed property, and had therefore a large establishment, which, irrespective of the family, consisted of six steel-founders, three men-servants, and the same number of female-servants. Being now almost grown up, and my father, on account of his official duties, being often from home, he was desirous that I should take charge with him of everything that concerned the forges and the household, and have the oversight of it; and I frequently conducted myself so much to his satisfaction in attending to his affairs, that he expressed his approbation of it to me. But he was not at all pleased, and that justly, at my being so passionately fond of company. Hence he had always a strict eye upon me, and kept me without money, that thus I might be compelled to avoid society. When he ascertained that I had been anywhere, contrary to his orders, I never failed to be corrected for it, however tall I was.

It is true I was a wild and thoughtless youth, who required restraint; but my father's harsh, severe, and unkind treatment was not at all proper, and the obedience which it constrained, arose by no means from affection, but from fear of punishment. For my spirit rose against everything which caused me fear; and although I was compelled to yield obedience outwardly, yet it was not heartfelt. I was willing to do everything, but desired to do it mag-

nanimously and from love. If my father had treated me a little more according to these principles, and if he had shown more confidence in and affection for me, he might have governed me as he pleased. However, my father's harsh and severe mode of treatment was better for me than if he had paid no attention to me; for, in the latter case, I should have been completely spoiled. I know and acknowledge it, even now, that my father acted sincerely according to the best of his knowledge, and meant well with respect to me; for he was in other respects a religious man, and always inculcated upon his children that which is good. However harshly he treated me—of which the worst is still to come—yet after attaining to years of discretion, I always esteemed and loved him. Providence so ordered it, that in 1780, after an absence of ten years, I returned to my native place, to be present at his dissolution, which took place six months after, in the seventieth year of his age, when I shed tears of filial affection over him, as the sequel of my history will more particularly show.

I must here also mention, that from my childhood up, I was not particularly subject to fear and timidity. My dear mother was often in great anxiety on account of my boldness and resolute courage. Even when a child, I was able to go, without the least fear, to the most dangerous places, and ascend the highest trees and other dreadful and perilous heights. On

expressing her great anxiety to me on such occasions, I replied, "Dear mother, with all your care you cannot preserve my life, and I believe God will defend me in every danger, and let me become an old man."

After the first developement of my mental faculties, and when my reason began to dawn, a strong impulse was incited in me to understand all that I saw and heard. Whenever I was told of newly-discovered countries, nations, or animals, a desire arose in me to see these things with my own eyes. I formed to myself an idea of the earth as a most extensive flat surface, and often inquired where the end of it was. When I grew older, and was better able to use my reason, I wished to know how the earth or the world was constituted—how large it was—what were the nations that inhabited it, &c. But there was no one in our village who was able to give me a correct account of it; and though I derived much information from "Hubner's State Lexicon," which my father possessed, and which I studied diligently, yet I found much concerning which I could form no connected idea. Accidentally seeing about this time, some maps in the possession of an individual, who told me that by their means I could obtain a knowledge of the earth, I hastened to procure them, and bought first a map of the world, together with charts of the four quarters of the globe, and then some geographical books. I now did not cease my researches

until I was able to form an idea of the earth as a globe. But then the desire also arose in me to become acquainted with the starry heavens. I purchased "Fontenell's Dialogues on the Plurality of Worlds," and by reading and reflection, without any other instruction than that which I derived from maps and books, could imagine to myself an entire globe, the sun, the planets, and their satellites, according to the Copernican system. My conceptions were so much enlarged by this, that the consideration of such things caused me the greatest pleasure, and much innocent gratification.

My understanding and inclinations finding nourishment in these things, they restrained me in some measure from company; but I could not resolve upon giving it up entirely, although I clearly saw that it was injurious to me. I often reflected indeed upon the necessity of a total change of state; divine grace strongly urged it on my heart, and I frequently made the best resolutions; but the bonds which fettered me to company, and particularly to another object, were too firm and strong to be rent without the aid of a superior power, and an especial grace, as will be seen in the sequel.

CHAPTER II.

Partial conversion—Good resolutions—Relapse.

HAVING thus in some measure described my youthful years, both as to exterior circumstances and features of character, I will now mention something of the feelings of my heart during that period.

In the midst of the levity of my youth, it pleased Jesus, the good Shepherd, to seek me as a lost and wandering sheep. He often made me hear his gracious voice exclaiming, "Turn again, thou backslider. Why wilt thou die and perish in thy sins? I came to redeem even thee, and to grant thee happiness and peace. Thou mayest seek rest for thy spirit in the gratification of thy passions, and wherever thou wilt; but thou wilt find it nowhere unless thou comest unto me, and seekest my grace; and unless thou refrainest from thy evil ways, and art converted, thou must eternally remain in a state of restlessness and torment!" Ah, how often has my

faithful Saviour admonished me by the voice of his grace, that he might deliver me from my state of corruption. But still I did not deem it a convenient season to obey his voice and come to him.

The first particular religious impression I experienced, was whilst reading the history of Joseph, when a boy at school. It caused me to shed many tears, and I could not comprehend how brethren could act in such a manner to their brother. After reading the glorious result of the narrative, it made such a profound impression upon me, that I seriously resolved to become a better man, and to walk so as to please God.

When I was twelve years old, my dear mother said to me on my birth-day, amongst other maternal admonitions, "That our dear Saviour, when of my age, had increased greatly in wisdom and in favour with God and man, and was obedient and submissive to his parents; and that I ought to take this as an example for myself, and diligently seek to become obedient and submissive to my parents, for in this manner I should be acceptable both to God and man." This admonition made a deep impression on my feeling heart. I acknowledged my manifold improprieties, one of which was the evil habit of cursing and swearing when in company with my playmates. I often wished to amend; but company and youthful amusements choked everything.

Meanwhile, I attended catechetical instruction, in order to prepare myself for the public profession of my faith, and to be devoted, by confirmation, to the religion of Jesus, and qualified for the reception of the sacrament. During the period of instruction, I experienced a variety of struggles and conflicts respecting many things in my mind. Grace was very operative in me for the purpose of producing a change of state, and I became more and more convinced that I must be converted, and become another man. Our preacher, who laid great stress upon morality, order, and good conduct, also frequently affected me by his discourses; for, although he knew nothing of conversion and regeneration by experience, yet he preached very earnestly upon them, and touched my heart in such a manner, that I resolved to turn to God; but my hour was not yet come.

My fourteenth year arrived, and I was now to make a public profession of my faith, and by confirmation become a member of the Reformed Church. I prepared myself for this solemn act with seriousness and contrition of heart. I perceived that I was a lost sinner, and that if I did not become converted, I should only be heaping judgment upon myself, according to Paul's expression, by partaking of the sacrament, which Jesus had instituted for his people. I therefore earnestly besought my Redeemer to en-

able me by his grace to become another man. During the confirmation in the church, I was almost overpowered by my feelings, besought aid and grace of Jesus, and entreated his compassion and forgiveness for my manifold sins; but my desires were not granted, nor my heart tranquillized and relieved. Extremely dejected at the state and condition of my mind, I returned home, but could eat no dinner. My dear mother asked me what was the matter? I answered "that I did not exactly know, but that I could not receive the sacrament, until the Lord Jesus had forgiven me my sins;" for it was usual for those who had been confirmed, to communicate the following Sunday or holiday. This perplexed my parents, who sought to represent the matter to me in as slight a manner as possible. They encouraged me to take heart, and told me, that though I ought from that time to amend, yet I ought not to be dejected. I summoned resolution, therefore, but still I went with a very depressed heart to the sacrament.

This religious act was always a matter of great difficulty to me before my conversion, because I had a witness within, who told me that I was unworthy, and only incurred so much the greater responsibility. However, it is not good for those under similar circumstances to omit this observance, because in it, the Spirit of grace has always a fresh

opportunity of revealing to the sinner his sins, and the corruption of his heart; for, since every one ought previously to prepare himself for this sacred rite, an especial opportunity is afforded for awakening the conscience of the sinner, and of rousing him to a change of life. But where no means are employed, the object is seldom or never attained.

Although, as already mentioned, I was deeply affected during my confirmation, and partook of the sacrament under great oppression of heart, yet I soon forgot everything again, and continued to walk in my former path with my reckless companions. As I grew in years, I increased in viciousness and vanity, and deviated still farther from the right way. Being an enterprising, gay, and thoughtless youth, my companions were fond of me, and were always glad of my company. However, the good Shepherd did not leave me entirely alone, for when desirous of making myself very merry, and carrying my joviality to the extreme, it seemed to me just as if an inward voice said to me in a reproving tone, "O wretched young man! thou thinkest to find pleasure in all this, but thou wilt never obtain it by such means. Thy desires will never be satisfied nor thy spirit ever tranquillized by the gratification of thy passions. If thou wilt find real pleasure, and true peace and contentment, thou must commence a godly life—thou must be converted." This suddenly divested me of

all my mirth and gaiety. But frequently I refused to listen to this inward voice, which came at such an inconvenient season, and even plunged myself deeper into dissipation, that I might expel and suppress the feelings that were so destructive to my enjoyment, but I could not always succeed.

There were times in which the Lord Jesus followed me with his gracious admonitions, as affectionately as a tender mother her wandering child, exhorting me to abandon a course of life, which could never afford me that pleasure I should find in the ways of piety. I then often wept over my sinful state, and resolved to amend, and for a season really gave up what appeared to me the most sinful; but it was not long before I was again more deeply immersed in sinfulness, and more vain and licentious than before. Every year I was several times inwardly admonished and attracted to alter my course of life; but I still postponed it to another year. I wished to be gay and jovial one year more, and then I would amend; and thus year after year passed away in vanity and without improvement.

I now attained to an age, in which a youth generally feels a stronger attachment to the other sex, nor could my affections bear to be without an object; I required something on which I could place them. But this love was of such a nature, that when once captivated by an object, every other became indif-

ferent. Hence it was, that notwithstanding my levity in company, I had a disgust at everything which approached to improper liberties in this passion, and continued, therefore, in this respect, perfectly innocent in the exercise of my affection. I had from my childhood a particular inclination towards a certain person, but was unable to inform her of my attachment ; I therefore loved, as it were, only at a distance. As I grew older, I perceived that I was not indifferent to her ; but still I did not associate with her, except during the year previous to my conversion.

CHAPTER III.

Renewed incitement to repentance—Attempts at amendment
—Repeated relapse—Levity and reproofs of conscience.

I CONTINUED to experience a variety of vicissitudes internally, until I was seventeen years of age. I then felt myself so powerfully affected, that I gave up all company. It was in the summer season, and I walked out entirely alone, either into the fields or other solitary places, and sought Him, who could alone satisfy all my necessities, and procure peace for my soul ; but he did not then let himself be found of me. I lived for some months without any society, in a very retired manner, and sought the Lord, that I might find peace in him. My parents and the other members of the household could not comprehend what was the matter with me, and I was unable to tell them.

At this juncture, I was visited by one of my former

companions, and to whom I had been the most attached. My parents were glad of the circumstance, because, being ignorant of my case, they hoped it would contribute to raise my spirits. Alas! he succeeded but too well! for in a short time he gained such an ascendancy over me, that my resolution began to waver. I suffered myself to be persuaded to accompany him to a place, where I met with my other comrades, who again introduced me into a social and dissipated life; and because an opportunity was now afforded me of being in company with the young lady above-mentioned, who was the object of my affections, I was completely won over to them. This individual was very virtuous, and from the first moment of my entering into closer and friendly connexion with her, she conducted herself with such propriety and modesty, that I valued her as much for her virtue as for her love; and because I could not live without the object of my affections, she was, from that time, so to speak, my all. My solitary and quiet mode of life began to decline, and was at length entirely laid aside. I became quite vain and dissipated, and my state reached gradually such a degree of corruption, that I endeavoured, from wickedness, violently to suppress the good that was in me. I purposely sought every species of amusement, merely to prevent myself from coming to reflection, and hearing the reproaches of conscience at my transgressions. In short, that year

was a period of real unbridled levity. Still, I was unable entirely to suppress and silence the accuser in my conscience, however much I attempted to deafen this unpleasant monitor, and to listen to it no more. I believe that if God had not finally attained his object with me, I should have become quite a free-thinker, and should have mocked at everything that had any reference to God and godliness ; for without any instruction, I had already made considerable progress upon that path. I still feel horrified at the abyss to which I was hastening, and at the heavy responsibility which this would have caused me to incur, whilst so repeatedly attracted to a religious life.

I sought, as already observed, to suppress all that was good within me, and endeavoured in every possible way to rid myself of that which disturbed me in the pursuit of pleasure, in order that I might act in every respect as I pleased. If my conscience began to protest against me, I endeavoured, in opposition to it, to persuade myself that there was perhaps neither God nor devil, nor heaven, nor hell,—nay, I was often possessed by a spirit of blasphemy and contempt of God, which mocked at all that was good. But this height of impiety brought me again to reflection. “What will be the end of it?” thought I. But I soon repressed such considerations, and sought to escape from them, rejecting them as things to which I would no longer listen.

Ah, what incomprehensible patience and forbearance has the Lord exemplified towards such a reprobate sinner ! How justly might he have given me over to judicial hardness ! Yet still he would not turn away his grace and mercy from me, but let me find it hard " to kick against the pricks."

My father's occupations had detained him for several weeks from home ; and because my mother possessed no particular authority over me, opportunity was again afforded me of revelling to the full extent with my comrades. We hired musicians, and made ourselves merry with dancing, which, at the same time, afforded an opportunity of enjoying the society of the young lady to whom I was attached. Our clergyman always received intimation of these disorderly proceedings, and being a man who thought highly of a moral deportment, and could not endure revellings in his parish, he warmly attacked the irregularities of youth in his sermons, and stated hell and damnation as the consequences. This produced little effect upon me, for I was not to be amended through fear of punishment, either by God or man ; on the contrary, I only became the more hardened ; and although it occasionally inspired a superficial terror, yet I thought I should not be alone in hell, but have companions with me who were better than I.

Thus the idea of hell and damnation produced little impression upon me ; but when the Lord, by

the Spirit of his reproving grace, reproached me in a serious and convincing manner in my heart for my wickedness, and admonished me to abandon my sinful course of life, and be converted, because I should otherwise never attain to real tranquillity and satisfaction, my heart melted anew, and I sank in grief and repentance at his feet.

I had many such good impressions in my lamentable and deeply fallen state, and at such times in particular, I felt, through grace, very powerfully convinced that I could only find rest, and the satisfaction of my desires and my infinite thirst for happiness, in God alone; that real and abiding pleasure could only be enjoyed in the service of Jesus; that, on the contrary, the gratification I sought in the world and its vanities, was only a specious appearance of pleasure, accompanied by bitter results; and that the whole world, with all its joys, could not satisfy my desires. These feelings were often so strong, that notwithstanding every effort, I was unable to suppress them. And when, during their influence, I clearly perceived that I was a poor captive slave, my heart was filled with sorrow, I wept bitterly over my bondage, and would gladly have burst the slavish fetters. But, alas! my bonds held me so fast, and were so strong, that I gave up almost all hope of being ever delivered from them.

CHAPTER IV.

Fluctuating state—Powerful effects of a dream—The impression again wears off.

IN August, 1758, I was often inwardly impressed to amend my ways and turn unto the Lord, but I always sought to escape from such feelings; and the more powerful the impressions were, the more my propensity to levity increased, so that light and darkness in my case truly conflicted with each other.

Towards the end of the month, I stole out of the house one evening, and revelled with my comrades to an excess, until two o'clock in the morning. I then returned by a secret passage into my chamber, and lay down to sleep. Scarcely had I begun to slumber when I began to dream. It seemed to me as if the end of the world were come. I suddenly heard a noise, and saw an innumerable multitude of people, who were summoned to judgment; and whilst contemplating this scene, I perceived myself also

amongst them. Horror and agony overpowered me, and I thought, "How will this end? The time of grace has now been trifled away, and there is no longer any deliverance." On lifting up my eyes, in the midst of these anxious thoughts, I perceived the Judge upon an elevated throne. As I looked towards him, he also looked upon me, not in a menacing, but a friendly manner, and beckoned me to come to him. But in the consciousness of my impiety, and that I could no longer hope for deliverance, I fell upon my face, and mournfully exclaimed, "O Lord, send me back again into the world—I will now really amend!" But as it, at the same time, occurred to me that there was no longer any world, nor any possibility of amendment, I sank into the deepest distress and confusion. At length I raised myself up, and the Judge again appeared before my eyes. He now looked seriously upon me, and again beckoned me to come to him. The multitude opened a way for me, and I began to come nearer to him, but prostrated myself a few times more as I approached, and implored him to send me again into the world that I might amend myself. On approaching still closer, I fell once more upon my face, and exclaimed, "Mercy! I will amend!" On this I awoke, and knew not where I was. I laid hold of the objects around me, and for awhile could not recollect myself, until at length I came to myself, and was convinced that I was still in bed.

I now thought to myself, it is high time that I should become another man, or else what will be the result? There is not a moment to lose, I must hasten and deliver my soul. But when I began to reflect in the morning, and thought how the matter was to be accomplished, it appeared extremely difficult, because I clearly perceived that I must give up all that I loved, and all that afforded me pleasure. Nor was the inward adversary idle. He represented to me that I was still so young, and had still time enough to repent, which I could do even in old age. He presented a godly life to my view as a melancholy state, in which a man could never be happy, and which embittered all the joys and pleasures of life.

Notwithstanding all this, the deep impression which the dream made upon me of the necessity of immediate conversion, would, perhaps, have made me hesitate no longer to give up everything for the sake of a pious life, had not the individual, whom I loved as my own self, been included in this fatal surrender. This sacrifice was insuperably difficult for me to make, and yet it was evident to me that if I wished to devote myself with my whole heart to God, I must likewise yield up this beloved object. I spent, therefore, some time in this irresolute state. I would gladly have served the Lord, and I also lived more retired than before; but at the bloom-

ing age in which I then was, it seemed to me to be a hard and impracticable thing to give up everything, and to renounce all the gratifications and enjoyments of youth. But eternal praise be to the goodness and love of my divine Redeemer, who would not that such a great sinner should perish ! Thanksgiving and adoration be unto him for being willing to redeem me and exemplify in me the power of his grace !

CHAPTER V.

Permanent Conversion—The author's irrevocable resolution to devote himself to God—Harsh treatment, and severe mental struggle.

I NOW come to the most important period of my life—to that in which I formed the blissful and irrevocable determination to give myself entirely to God. But before I relate the circumstance, some preliminary observations are necessary.

There dwelt in our village some young people who were fond of music. They often came together in the evenings and holidays, and exercised themselves on the flute and violin. There was this peculiarity attached to them, that no one was admitted into their little society, of whom they were not convinced that he led a quiet and blameless life. Their meetings had already been continued for some years, and the company, which consisted at first only of three individuals, had at that period increased to six. But as they did not go regularly to church, they were looked

upon with a suspicious eye by our preacher. He had his spies who brought him intelligence of everything; and through these he ascertained that they held divine service as well as musical meetings, and were also in possession of suspicious books. Two of my cousins were of the number, one of whom was my uncle's son on the maternal side. This uncle possessed Jacob Böehme's* writings, which came by this means into the hands of the members of the society, who relished and found food in them. The clergyman therefore took occasion, at a monthly service, to allude to them in his sermon, and represented them to his congregation as a dangerous sect, by which he became so much excited that he even wept.

I was likewise in the church, and was also much affected, so that I thought such a dangerous sect ought to be rooted out. In the evening, when in company with my comrades, I immediately began to inveigh against these wicked people, as I supposed them to be, and asked them whether we ought not to unite together, and chase these obstinate people out of the gates, who caused our preacher so much grief? Some of them laughed at my warmth, others, though

* The reader will pardon the translator for endeavouring here and elsewhere to restore the name of this remarkable individual to its original orthography, The current mode of writing it is just as absurd as if Goethe were to be written Gethen.

they approved of the plan, said that its accomplishment was not so easy ; and thus the matter dropped.

Meanwhile our preacher summoned them before the consistory, where they defended themselves with such modesty and propriety, that he could do nothing to them. However, he continued to inveigh against this dangerous sect, as he called it, in his sermons. One of its members was therefore deputed to reason with him on the subject, who promised that they would attend church, if he would engage no longer to attack them from the pulpit in his zeal, nor to mention them in his discourses ; but that if he continued to do so, they would be compelled to omit going to church entirely. The clergyman replied, that he would not suffer himself to be dictated to in what concerned his office, since he surely knew himself what he ought to do. He therefore continued to vilify and abuse them, and to warn his hearers against them ; the consequence of which was, that they absented themselves entirely from church.

I have had the opportunity of convincing myself that preachers, either through their dry and lifeless or unevangelical discourses, or else by their offensive deportment and imprudent zeal, are often themselves to blame for the separations which occur in their congregations ; yet, the perverseness of those that are awakened is frequently the cause of it, from their unwillingness to submit to any established order, sup-

posing that they no longer require it ; by which they manifest, however, that they do not possess the humble mind of Jesus. But, in this instance, it is evident that our clergyman gave occasion for these people to forsake the public assemblies ; for, if he had conducted himself more kindly and obligingly towards them, he would have retained them as his hearers, because they were sincere in seeking God and true godliness. But because he calumniated them for so doing, the natural consequence was that they separated themselves. And thus it will be found, that serious and thoroughly awakened individuals, who, at the commencement of their conversion, sit under the ministry of wretched preachers, who are opposed to them, and are of more injury than service to them, almost always become separatists, especially if books fall in their way, the authors of which represent the outward church as a confused Babel, from whence it is necessary to depart, if we do not wish to become partakers of its sins ; they then persuade themselves that it is incumbent upon them to do so from motives of obedience and fidelity towards God and the demands of conscience. It cannot be denied that here perverseness and self-deception are frequently intermingled ; still, every one is bound to follow his conviction, and to act according to it. The principle of acting according to conviction was subsequently so firmly esta-

blished in me, that during the remainder of my life, I could never be brought to deviate from it.

I kept an eye on the members of the above-mentioned society, and could never discover anything in them but a quiet and retired mode of life, and an in-offensive deportment. But I could never pardon them for not going to church, and thus causing our clergyman, whom I highly esteemed, so much uneasiness, on which account I always felt a repugnance to them in my heart.

One Sunday, shortly before the afternoon service, my father sent me with a message to one of my cousins, who was known to be a member of the society. I immediately executed my commission, and after having received his answer, was about to go away; but my cousin held me by the arm, and said, "that though we were such near relatives, yet we seldom saw each other; I must therefore sit a little while with him. I excused myself on the score of going to church, and had therefore no time. He told me that I could do that also, for it was not yet late. I therefore sat down. After some unimportant questions, he began as follows:—"What do you think yourself, dear consin; do you believe that the way you are going will conduct you to real happiness and peace of soul?" Being unable to reply to this, he continued, "I am too well aware that you are a wild and thought-

less youth, and am convinced that the path you have hitherto pursued will at length plunge you into eternal destruction ;” with more to the same effect. I could not answer him a word ; but whilst he was speaking, the tears began to flow gently down my cheeks, and at length I wept aloud, and exclaimed, “ Ah, I would gladly amend and become another man, and have often attempted it already ; but the fetters with which I am bound are too strong and too firm : I shall never be able to burst them ! O, there is no more grace to be hoped for me !”

To this he replied, that I might certainly still hope for mercy, if I took a thorough and serious resolution to alter my course of life ; if I gave up all bad company, and applied to Jesus, seeking mercy and forgiveness at his hands ; I should then feel that my sins were blotted out, and that my bands were burst asunder ; no sinner ever came to him, however great his sins, or however strong the chains with which he was bound, who did not find in him redemption, forgiveness, and acceptance.

I could now contain myself no longer, and broke out into the following words :—“ I swear, therefore, from this hour, eternal fidelity to this Redeemer ! I will seek mercy and forgiveness from him, and never cease doing so, whatever may be the consequences. Cousin, you shall be a witness that I have entered into this covenant ; that from this time, with

the assistance of this Redeemer, I renounce all society that might lead me into sin; yea, I offer up everything that I love, and which might still retain me a captive to vanity: I sacrifice it all."

My cousin knew not at first what to say to my sudden exclamation, and the strong language I used, but was afterwards quite overjoyed, and said that he heartily rejoiced at the happy resolution I had taken, and doubted not that the faithful Redeemer would assist me, and help me through every difficulty.

At length I recalled to mind the object of my errand, and returned home to bring my father the reply. But having remained too long with my cousin to be in time for church, I was rather embarrassed at the reception I had to expect from my father; for he was very strict with respect to attendance at church. My uneasiness was not unfounded; for scarcely had he caught sight of me, than he began to say, "Where hast thou been all this time? Why didst thou not go to church? What is the matter with thee?" He doubtless saw in my face the traces of violent emotion, and the tears I had shed. "Dost thou even intend to become a pietist?" At these words he gave me a smart blow on the ear. Without complaining of it, I mournfully told him my cousin's reply to the message I had taken to him, and went up to my bed-room. There I fell on my

knees before the Lord, and said, "See, Lord Jesus ! this is the first welcome I receive on the path to thee ! But nothing, nor even death itself, shall any more restrain me from coming to thee. I must and will possess thee ! Ah, hold me fast ! Assist me, and forgive the manifold sins which I have committed against thee. In judgment remember mercy, or I shall never be able to stand."

I acknowledged myself worthy of all the ill-treatment I might meet with, and was convinced that I deserved nothing but disgrace and punishment ; but at the same time I placed a confident reliance on my Saviour, that notwithstanding all my aberrations and sins, he would still forgive me, and exercise mercy instead of justice towards me.

The day passed away in the midst of mournful and humiliating emotions ; but it was followed by many days of distress ; for every one now began to rise up against me. I paid little regard to what occurred to me outwardly, but I had inwardly to struggle with enemies, which were so powerful, that I often thought I should be compelled to succumb. I now sought Jesus in good earnest, in whom alone I could find help, grace, and forgiveness, and who alone was able to change my state. But he, who had so long sought, and so often invited such a sinful wretch to come to him, that had so long despised the riches of his long-suffering and goodness, did not let himself

be immediately found. I was obliged first to taste the extreme bitterness of sin, and experience that I had committed no trifling offence in despising that grace, which had been offered to me so long in vain.

CHAPTER VI.

Combined attempts to overthrow the author's resolution—
—Dreadful inward struggles and temptations—Encouragement to persevere.

AMONGST the dreadful enemies which now began to rise up within me, in the midst of my pain and sorrow for my sins, and my prayers and supplications for mercy and forgiveness, a spirit of blasphemy and contempt of God appeared, which mocked at my grief, and my intreaties for forgiveness, and sought to plunge me into despair. It suggested to me, "that it was now too late to obtain mercy, for the day of grace had been long ago trifled away; that Jesus, whom I had so often rejected and so long despised, would never receive me; that I ought therefore to give up my resolution, live merrily as long as I was still in the world, and seek to enjoy the pleasures which are to be found in it." Ah, what conflicts and distress did this spirit occasion me! My constant

reply was—"If Jesus, whom I have so grossly insulted and so often rejected, should suffer me to perish, he would be justified in so doing; for I had never deserved anything else but disgrace and punishment; but if he were never to forgive me nor receive me into favour, yet would I not cease to cry for grace and forgiveness, even though I might perish whilst praying and wrestling for mercy."

The severe struggles I endured at this period, I cannot possibly correctly describe. On the one hand, I was strongly pervaded by an ardent and longing desire for mercy, forgiveness, and redemption; on the other, the adversary interposed a dreadful barrier of doubts and despairing thoughts in my way, as if I could no longer hope for any mercy or redemption. This, by degrees, brought me down so very much, that I had scarcely any longer strength or ability for the performance of the duties devolving upon me. I wrestled, I prayed, and intreated my Redeemer to grant me grace and forgiveness. I pleaded with him, that he came into the world for the purpose of redeeming and saving sinners, and that I would therefore hope and believe that he had shed his blood, and offered up his life, even for me, and had atoned for all my sins. "Ah!" I exclaimed; "have mercy upon such a wretched creature, upon such a captive sinner as I am! O deliver me, and release me from my fetters!" But then, it was suggested to me, on the

other hand, "not such a wretch as I am; for me there is no longer any mercy or compassion to be expected!"

My strength decreased daily, and my vivacity entirely disappeared. My parents, and the rest of the family called me a pietist, whose brain was confused, and told me that I should carry it to such a length as to become a complete fool. I paid little attention to all this, or to anything else that occurred to me outwardly. I longed to see my inward state changed, which I felt to be of supreme importance, and my ardent desire for mercy and deliverance continued to increase. I pleaded with the Lord, "that he had sworn by his life, that he did not wish the death of the sinner, but that he should repent and live; and that he had invited all those that were weary and heavy-laden with the burden of their sins to come to him, that he might relieve them of their load, and give rest to their souls." Both these promises I held so firmly in faith, that during all the raging assaults of the adversary, I would still say, "My Jesus, my Lord, and my God! thou hast said this, and thou must therefore verify it in me also, who am so heartily burdened by sin. I will never more remove from thee, and rather die and perish than leave thee!"

Thus did I continue to wrestle and struggle, but the rest and relief I so ardently desired, did not yet appear. I could indeed regard God as the father of

men, who did not wish their destruction ; but his holiness and righteousness seemed to me necessarily to demand that sin should be punished in me. Justice pronounced the sentence, and the law condemned me as an ungodly sinner. I now saw no other way of escape than to plunge myself deeply, and envelope myself in the merits of my Redeemer. I cried to God, and said, " O Father, forgive so great a sinner his sins and transgressions ! Behold thy Son, whom, as I hope and believe, thou didst send into the world, even on my behalf. O forgive me for his sake ! And thou my Redeemer, be thou my Deliverer, who intercedeth for me with the Father ! Let me find pardon and favour in thy merits ! " Such were my frequent petitions.

I had no one to whom I could disclose my distressing state ; for the only individuals of my acquaintance, who might have understood me, and been able to assist me with advice and consolation, were the friends above alluded to, the associating with whom was, however, entirely forbidden ; my family also kept a strict eye upon me, to prevent my going to these suspected people. But about three weeks after I had taken my final determination, on going to our forge, I met with one of these friends on the way. He was one of the first and most serious of them all. He had heard something of my resolution to become another man, and asked me how matters stood with me ? I can-

didly avowed to him my distress, my trials, and temptations. He encouraged me, and exhorted me to endure them, asserting that the adversary would be obliged to take to flight, and Jesus gain the victory. I was very much cheered by his conversation, and told him I would continue to struggle and pray for deliverance, and not cease, although it should cost me my life.

CHAPTER VII.

Forlorn and comfortless state—Temptations—Increasing feeling of wretchedness—Glorious and sudden deliverance—Thankfulness.

THE tempter and accuser now exerted all his strength to cause me to stagger and give way. All the powers of darkness assailed me anew, and still more violently than before. A gloomy spirit suggested impious and blasphemous thoughts against God, the Saviour, and the Holy Spirit, and then whispered to me that I had committed the sin against the Holy Ghost, and consequently could never hope for forgiveness. Therefore, since I could never obtain mercy, I ought to give up the attempt, otherwise I should lose my senses, it being evident that God would not receive me. O what distress, what conflict! everything strove against and assaulted me—foes within, and relations without. Besides my grief and tears, I had nothing to oppose to them, but the firm resolution

to amend—a resolution which I was determined never to relinquish during my whole life.

My strength became completely exhausted, and my circumstances now appeared critical to myself. My parents were also much perplexed about me, and told me that I would probably not rest till I had lost my senses. I wept, and offered up my reason and everything else. I could not give up my resolution, nor was I willing to yield. Deeply troubled and distressed, I applied to Jesus, and most urgently besought support, grace, and deliverance. “O my Saviour!” exclaimed I; “let me not succumb in the conflict! Suffer me not to perish! Have mercy upon such a poor and captive sinner! O let me find grace and redemption in thee!”

On the 30th of October, 1758, after this state of conflict, toil, and tribulation, had lasted above three weeks, we were visited in the afternoon by two of my father’s sisters. Coffee being ready, my father sent for me to join them. I would gladly have stayed away, but dared not. I came therefore like a condemned criminal, saluted my aunts, and sat down to table. Whilst taking coffee, my father began to say to his sisters, “I know not what to make of my son. He has taken such pietistic fancies into his head, that I fear he will lose his senses.” I could not utter a single word in reply, but my heart was ready to burst within me for grief, and I thought I should

have sunk under the burden and wretchedness of my state; however, I was obliged to remain until evening, and endure my distressing feelings. My aunts then took their leave, and I said that having no appetite for supper, I should be glad to retire to my room and lie down, which was granted me. I hastened to it, therefore, with a great desire to give vent to my oppressed heart; but my grief and misery bound me in such a manner that I could not utter a word. In the feeling of my inexpressible distress I sank down before God, and with mournful sighs, though without words, I showed myself to him in all my wretchedness and misery. At length I broke silence, and exclaimed, "Alas! there is no help for me, either in heaven or earth, unless thou, O faithful Redeemer, come to my aid. Look in mercy upon such a poor sinner! O have compassion upon me!"

Whilst I lay thus moaning and supplicating in the dust before God, something occurred within me, which I shall never forget during my whole life, and which I confidently hope will be a matter of importance to me to all eternity, and remain an everlasting memorial to the glory of God; for it was the first groundwork and firm foundation on which the whole fabric of godliness was afterwards erected and established. It was just as if a flash of lightning had shot through my soul, and suddenly and violently expelled all the adversaries who had hitherto torment-

ed and held me in such grievous bondage. It was, at the same time, accompanied with a feeling of pleasure and delight, and acted as a healing balm, strengthening and renovating all my powers, and placing me in a state of humble, but indescribable rapture, so that I began, with a gentle voice, to exult and say, " Bless the Lord, O my soul, and all that is within me, bless his holy name ! Bless the Lord, O my soul ! and never forget his mercies. Who forgiveth all thine iniquities ? who healeth all thy diseases, who redeemeth thy life from destruction, and crowneth thee with loving-kindness and tender mercy."

My heart and mouth were so full of humble thankfulness towards my divine Redeemer, that I knew not how sufficiently to express it. In the fullness of my heart, I exclaimed, " O my gracious and loving Jesus, how can I worthily manifest my thankfulness for thy great mercies ! At present I know no better way of testifying my gratitude than by promising thee eternal fidelity anew ! I take thee from this time for the sole object of my affections. I swear eternal love and fidelity to thee. Neither life, nor death, nor any other creature, shall separate me from thy love. O graciously accept this dedication ! strengthen and assist me in all that I may have to pass through during the present life. Be thou with me, and in me, and I will then venture my

life, and all that I am and have, for thee and thy love !”

I was now redeemed, and delivered from the power of darkness, and translated into the kingdom of God’s dear Son. The spirits, which Paul says believers have to struggle against, (Ephes. vi. 12,) were now deprived of their power, and most of their influence over me. The conqueror, the Redeemer, had gained the victory, and the redeemed soul could now rejoice and give thanks at the conquest.

Although this important change took place in me forty years ago, yet whilst writing this, it is still as fresh in my remembrance as if it had happened yesterday. It has excited me anew to fervent and filial thanks whilst detailing it, and I also hope to bless and glorify God, my Saviour, for it, with a humble spirit, to all eternity.

But now it was suggested to me, “ If thou wilt be my disciple indeed, deny and despise thyself, take up thy cross and follow me.” How these important words of Jesus were fulfilled in me, will appear in the sequel.

CHAPTER VIII.

The author's remarks on conversion.

BEFORE I proceed with my narrative, I find it necessary to make a few remarks on that happy change in the soul, which is termed conversion ; because many pious individuals, whose conversion has taken place in a different manner to my own, might have doubts and scruples respecting it, on the perusal of my history.

Conversion, or a transition from a state of sin to a state of grace, is various in those that are called, according as their dispositions and natural and mental faculties differ. Thus, Nathanael's conversion was quite different from that of Cornelius, and still more so from that of the sinful woman in the gospel ; (Luke vii. 35 ;) and different from all these was the conversion of Paul.* The chief point is, that every such soul

* " God acts, indeed, according to his good pleasure, and does not suffer himself to be limited by any accidental circum-

be brought from the dominion of sin, and placed under the dominion of the Spirit of God and his gracious guidance, the paths to which are very various, according to circumstances and natural disposition, as well as to the degree of fidelity with which each one responds to the grace imparted. So far as the individual obeys the vocation of grace with true fidelity, he is really converted.

But God has his particular purposes in view with many souls, and furnishes them with particular graces, courage, and intellectual powers, as their destination may require. On reading the account of the conversion of such individuals, another who has not walked in the same path, must not think, "The Lord has not led me in this manner; it is possible my conversion has not been of the right kind; perhaps I have passed over it too slightly," &c. These are frequently only temptations of the adversary, who seeks by this means to fill the mind with doubt and unbelief.

Let every one faithfully follow the vocation the

stance in his method of treating the soul. But universal and particular experience teaches, that a firm and obstinate character is more severely dealt with than one of a softer and gentler stamp, and also that a choleric and melancholy individual has to pass through more painful sufferings, at least at the commencement, than a person of a sanguine temperament."—*Jung Stilling.*

Lord has vouchsafed to him ; he will then assuredly attain the object for which he was destined. Ten talents will certainly not be demanded of him who has only received one from the Lord. If he is faithful in laying out that which is committed to him to the best advantage, his Lord will commend him as a faithful servant.

That individual is truly converted, who most seriously and heartily detests, not only gross sins, but all ungodliness ; who receives Jesus by faith as his only Redeemer, and seeks, in the strength of his grace, to live devoutly and piously ; who, by believing and filial prayer and confidence, embraces him on all occasions as his helper and deliverer, and whose whole endeavours are directed to render himself entirely devoted to him. Such an individual is assuredly a recipient of divine grace ; one of those whom God has translated from a state of sin into a state of grace. The feeling and consciousness of this is very different amongst those that are called. Too much attention must not be paid to it ; it may accompany it or may not. Faith excels all feeling. I repeat it : he that sincerely seeks to please God, and faithfully to employ the grace granted him, will certainly make progress, and attain the end to which the Lord has destined him. Believing, confidently committing ourselves to the Redeemer in all our concerns, and a heartfelt ab-

horrence of sin,*—and what sin is, will be experienced by him, who gives heed to reproofing grace—this constitutes the whole of the matter.

Many souls are attracted at first by the soft emotions of love, who must afterwards pass through many severe trials, that they may be duly grounded and established in the state of grace. Others, at the very beginning, are led through rough and painful paths, before they attain to a state of grace, and receive the assurance of the forgiveness of their sins. Nay, there are many pardoned souls, that have no

* Well-meaning souls may, indeed, frequently fall into faults, weaknesses, and even into grievous sins. On such occasions, they ought deeply to humble themselves before the Lord, repent, and take refuge by faith in the merits of Christ, begin again with renewed earnestness, and pay more strict attention to the teaching of divine grace. But they must not suffer themselves to be discouraged, or despair and give up everything. This is a most dangerous alternative; it is dishonourable to God, as if he were not sufficiently mighty to redeem us from the power of sin; and a proof that they have not only prosecuted the work of conversion in their own strength, and in self-confidence, but have also made little progress in the true knowledge of Christ, and in divine strength. How much the Lord is opposed to the fearful and faint-hearted, is evident from Rev. xxi. 6, where he appoints them their portion with unbelievers, liars, &c., in the lake that burneth with fire and brimstone.

certain assurance of their sins being blotted out, doubtless for wise reasons, which are known to God alone. If we only confidently cleave by faith to the grace of the Redeemer, exercise ourselves in the path of piety and godliness, and manifest all fidelity in striving to advance further, we may be certain of our forgiveness, although we have no clear consciousness of it.

CHAPTER IX.

Happy state of mind—Retired life and faithful fulfilment of duty—Conduct of his parents and minister—Remarks.

THE first night after my gracious visitation, I scarcely slept a moment, my heart being so filled with thankfulness and love; and yet, in the morning, I was cheerful, alert, and in good spirits. My family knew not what to think of me, but supposed that my vagaries, as they called them, had disappeared. I was silent on the subject, and mentioned nothing whatever of that which had taken place within me, but strove to be faithful to the Lord, and to the grace bestowed upon me. In the sequel, however, my parents probably saw that I would not give up my determination to lead a life such as I had already begun, and were much perplexed in consequence. They could not feel satisfied at having a son, who made common cause with the suspected society; and this was the more difficult for them to bear, because our family

was on terms of the most intimate friendship with that of the clergyman, associated much together, and frequently visited each other. They knew that the preacher would regard me as a sectarian like the rest, and this grieved them uncommonly. And as, besides this, my father was respected by the government, and stood in connexion with several of its members, he looked upon it as a disgrace to have a son who was attached to such a hated sect. It was, however, no longer in my power to alter the matter. I was resolved to be faithful to the vocation which the Lord had given, and the grace he had bestowed upon me, even should I lose, not only my honour, but also my life, by so doing.

I can, however, easily excuse my parents. They were externally pious people, paid great attention to everything relating to religion, according to the best of their knowledge, and lived respectably and religiously in the sight of the world; but of such a change as that which had been produced in me, neither they nor our preacher understood the least. It therefore appeared to them in a suspicious light, and they regarded it as deception and sectarianism; hence they became daily more disinclined to me and my manner of life. I received everything as it came, and strove to continue faithful to my gracious calling in all things. I attended to my outward employments with all fidelity, so that in this respect, even

my father was fully satisfied with me. However, he kept a very watchful eye upon me, to ascertain whether I associated with my suspected friends. Most of the time I remained at home, and did not go out, except when business called me to the forge or elsewhere, on which occasions I sometimes found opportunity to speak with one or other of these friends. I related my conflict to them, and the subsequent divine communication, at which they were much rejoiced, and sympathised deeply with my situation. It was quite natural that I should, on this account, esteem them as the dearest friends I had in the world; for we always love those the most, who interest themselves for us sincerely and with an undissimulated cordiality, both in joy and sorrow.

My father would now have been glad to have seen an inclination in me to my former dissipated course of life, and hence he presented me with twenty dollars on New Year's Day, in order to incite me by this gift to seek society again. But my heart was very far from responding to his intentions. I locked up the money, and it was afterwards of great service to me.

On Sundays I remained for the most part at home, excepting that I was obliged to go twice to church. What I felt on such occasions may be easily imagined. When the preacher adhered to his text, and spake of it alone, I was well satisfied; but he continually selected such texts as he could apply at plea-

sure to the dangerous individuals, my above-mentioned friends. They were then often severely assailed. He called them an infernal sect, and children of Satan and Belial. I was compelled to listen patiently to all this, however much it pained me. But I gradually became so accustomed to his revilings, that at length I was no longer affected by them.

I do not doubt but that our clergyman acted according to his convictions, and that he believed for a certainty that these people were seducing spirits, who ought not to be spared, but restored by severity, and that his office required him to inveigh against such innovations. If he had taken the path of kindness, and, like a good shepherd, had sought his sheep with affection, and allured them to his flock, he would have accomplished much ; but he was unable to act thus. At length he carried the matter so far, that the whole congregation were displeased with his warmth, and the elders were commissioned to tell him, that his hearers attended church to be edified, and not to listen to the revilings and reproaches bestowed upon others. This happened shortly before I left the country.

I must, however, do our clergyman justice. He was a conscientious, well-meaning man, whom I still regard as one of the best preachers in those parts at the time. He often preached upon repentance, conversion, and other divine truths, in such a serious

manner, and represented the necessity of them with such urgency and warmth, that I was most profoundly convinced of this necessity, and often seriously resolved, under his sermons, to amend my life and be converted. He was certainly one of the instruments in the hand of God, which co-operated for my improvement. The remembrance of him is still appreciated by me, and united with esteem. He was more particularly useful in maintaining moral decorum amongst the young, and, indeed, in the whole parish. But that at the period of my awakening, he was so greatly irritated, was no wonder. He saw, and could not avoid perceiving, that the people were separating from the mother-church, and seeking to establish a new sect; and hence, he believed he could not speak too strongly against them. It is also necessary to carry ourselves back into those times, and consider the great difference between them and the present period. The preachers at that time, particularly in small places, had, for the most part, their hearers' mode of thinking in their own power; but every one knows how much the case is altered in the present day. Whether this change has been beneficial or prejudicial to morality, or whether religion has gained or lost by it, are questions which every one may easily answer for himself.

CHAPTER X.

Resignation—Courage in overcoming a passion—Becomes intolerable to his family.

I POSSESSED few religious books. In the Bible I found everything that I required for my consolation, instruction, and refreshment. The following spring, one of the friends presented me with Jacob Boëhme's "Way to Christ." It is one of the most useful of his writings. I found much in it that I had felt and experienced until the time of my finding mercy; it also contained many consolatory truths with reference to my state of mind at the time. I greatly valued this little work, because I found in it much encouragement to a godly life; but it proved the principal cause of my forsaking father and mother, friends and native country.

My mind was at that period in such a state, that I was able to take up and endure every cross, and all the severe and contemptuous treatment I met with.

I found in the life and conduct, sufferings and death, of the Lord Jesus, my Redeemer, such encouragement to follow him in all things, that I felt happy in suffering and being despised for his sake. It seemed to me, that if I had been called to lay down my life for the truth's sake, I should, perhaps, have done it with joy—I say perhaps—from love to Jesus. All previous suggestions of the adversary, and every injurious temptation, had lost their effect upon me, and although the enemy still frequently tried to assault me, yet the mighty prince, who overcame in me, and fought for me, gave me grace and strength successfully to resist these hostile attacks.

I was afraid of nothing so much, nor was so much upon my guard against anything, as the object of my former affections. I carefully avoided every place where I supposed I might possibly meet that individual. But my faithfulness was to be put to the test, even with respect to her; for in the month of May, I was placed in circumstances in which I could not escape from her. I was going to our forge, the road to which led between gardens, and by its narrowness rendered all escape impossible. One of these gardens belonged to the parents of the young lady. She came out of it unperceived by me, just as I was between the gardens, so that I was compelled either to turn back or meet her. On seeing her I started, and my first impulse was to return. However, I imme-

diately bethought myself, that this would be indecorous, and resolved, therefore, to pass by her and greet her. I did so ; but after I had passed her, I perceived that she continued standing. I did not look round, but walked a little slower. It being a solitary place, she called after me, and asked what she had done to me, that I acted so cruelly towards her. I now stopped, and replied, that she had done nothing to me, but had always acted towards me as a virtuous young woman, on which account I should ever esteem and respect her. But she must be well aware, that I had altered my mode of life, and that, therefore, I could enter into no further engagements. To this she replied, that she would also very gladly amend herself, but knew not how to accomplish it. I answered, that I could be of no service to her in that respect, because I was still only a beginner, and too weak for that purpose ; but that she had a cousin amongst the friends, to whom she might apply. I then bade her adieu, and proceeded on my way.

I acknowledged, with heartfelt emotion, the great grace which the Lord vouchsafed to me in this instance, by keeping my spirit so firm and tranquil. For had I suffered myself to have been again taken captive by this individual—and such would have been the case, without divine assistance—the consequences would have been dubious with respect to my godliness.

I spent the summer under a variety of sufferings,

though for the most part in a comfortable manner ; for love to Jesus rendered everything easy and pleasant that occurred to me, however painful it might be. It was delightful to suffer for his name's sake, and from love to him I could embrace every species of contempt. My worldly prospects, however, grew more and more obscure. Heavy thunder-clouds, if I may so speak, ascended higher and higher from the horizon, and seemed to threaten me with a dreadful storm. My family became more disinclined to me than ever. My dear mother, who had formerly possessed so much affection for me, could now scarcely endure me, because I had entailed such a disgrace on the family by my manner of life. I had become a stranger, so to speak, to the whole household. All affection towards me seemed extinguished, and because my love found no return, it seemed to me as if I were no longer at home.

CHAPTER XI.

Unjustifiable conduct of his father—Secret resolution to leave the country.

At length the day arrived, on which the long anticipated storm broke upon me. My father had secretly kept an unceasing watch over me, and observed that I maintained a private intercourse with the friends. Our clergyman told him that he ought not to permit it; because these people would make me a despicable sectarian. He continued to inveigh against them in his public discourses; and, amongst others, he expressed himself very warmly against Jacob Boëhme's writings, and having obtained permission from the civil authorities to search for these books, he had taken away some of them from these people. The name of this author was in this manner known to my father also.

One day in the month of August, 1759, my father entered my room, and said, that he must examine

what books I had. Being still fond of the study of geography and astronomy, I had many works upon those subjects. I therefore without hesitation opened the book-case for him, which contained these, as well as some other books; but Jacob Boëhme's work I had locked up quite alone in a drawer under the table. After my father had looked over the books a little, he ordered me to open the drawer. I was terrified, hesitated, and fumbled with the key. On perceiving my confusion, he insisted upon it still more vehemently; I was therefore obliged to open it. There being no other book in it than Boëhme's "Way to Christ," he took it out, and perceived the name of Jacob Boëhme. "Wait," said he, whilst going away with the book, "I'll drive thy mystic and pietistic fancies out of thy head!" I now expected painful results, and therefore besought the divine assistance. My father returned immediately with the whip, and laid it upon me with a vigorous arm. After believing he had beaten me sufficiently, he asked me whether I would now promise him, that as long as I was under his care, I would keep company no more with the suspected people, nor read any such suspicious books. As he still held up the whip in a threatening manner, I had no time for reflection. I therefore replied, that since he would have it so, I was under the necessity of promising it from obedience to him. He stretched out his hand, and I was

compelled solemnly to engage to keep inviolably what he had enjoined upon me.

I now seemed to myself to have sunk into an abyss from which there was no escape. I remained in my room, and was so stupified, that at first I could not utter a word nor form a connected idea. My mind was obscured as with a black veil, and I continued sitting in a stupified and insensible condition until evening. At length a flood of tears broke loose, which in some measure relieved my heart; but still I continued in the situation of a man, who is only half-conscious of himself. "What will now become of me?" thought I. The night passed over in a manner of which I can no longer form any correct idea. The next morning, I was very melancholy and dejected, and gloomy silence pervaded the whole house. After breakfast, I said I would go to the forge, because I had something to do there, which was accordingly granted. The way leading through solitary places, and partly through the wood, I hoped that the walk would relieve me a little.

As soon as I reached the wood, I gave full vent to my grief, and suppliantly and mournfully intreated the Lord to support me, and give me advice and instruction how to act. All at once it was suggested to my mind, to forsake my father, and mother, and everything else, and that the Lord would protect me, and help me through every difficulty. This thought

tranquillised me, and restored a great degree of cheerfulness to my mind, and I now began seriously to reflect how, and in what manner, I should arrange my departure. On returning home towards noon, and when all saw that I was again in my usual spirits, they also reassumed their former cheerfulness, and doubtless thought the affair would be soon forgotten.

I had no one to whom I could unbosom myself. I had solemnly vowed to my father not to go again to my friends who were termed the suspected persons ; and my conscientiousness required the keeping of this promise. Hence there was no other alternative than to leave my father's house. But whither should I betake myself, since I knew no one in the wide world ? Amsterdam was most in my thoughts, and I concluded that because Boëhme's book had been printed there, pious people might be found there who would receive me kindly, and assist me in procuring some employment, by which I might gain a subsistence, and in which I would so conduct myself as to leave no doubt of my success. But if I should fail in my expectations, I thought within myself, I am still strong and healthy, and prefer endeavouring to maintain myself by labour, however painful it might be, than endure such intolerable oppression any longer. However, circumstances happened otherwise than I had imagined, although at length, God be praised ! sufficiently favourably.

I hope that my example, and the resolution I took, will not induce any one to forsake his parents, in order the better to serve God. It is rarely the case that any one forsakes his parents and friends from motives of pure love to God and a holy life, or that divine Providence suffers such occurrences to happen, in which scarcely any other choice is left him. The latter was, however, my case, and the Lord granted me grace and strength by which I was enabled to adhere to him in the midst of every storm and temptation that befel me, and to persevere in so doing ; making, at the same time, a way for me to accomplish my purpose. Any other individual, in endeavouring to follow my example, without being decidedly called to act thus, or possessing the requisite strength for it, might make shipwreck of his faith. I am also of opinion, that when it is seen in the sequel what rough paths I have been obliged to travel through, no one will feel any longer desirous of imitating my example.

CHAPTER XII.

The author executes his plan—Arrives at Amsterdam—Engages himself on board an East Indiaman.

NOT having my best clothes in my room, and my clean linen being provided me every Sunday, I postponed my departure until the following Sunday night. On Saturday I contrived to take out six shirts and some other articles from the stock of linen, and I remained in my apartment on Sunday evening for the purpose of packing up my clothes. When all was quiet in the house, I knelt down and heartily intreated the Lord to be my protector, and to assist me in the accomplishment of my undertaking; I also commended my parents, brothers, and sisters, very fervently to him. I then sat down, and wrote a letter to my father, the substance of which was, that having been compelled to make him a promise, which it was impossible for me to keep, I had taken the resolution to withdraw myself from his authority;

that it was not in my power to alter the mode of life I had adopted, and that I would rather suffer death than again deviate from that which the Lord had shown me to be my supreme obligation; that, in conclusion, I commended him, together with my dear mother and the rest of the family, to the Lord, and heartily wished them all prosperity. This letter I left upon the table.

When the watchman had sounded the midnight hour, I took my bundle on my back, went through the house into the stable, then into the yard, and from thence into the high road, which led to Cologne. I now endeavoured to forget parents, relatives, and everything else, and looked upon myself as a pilgrim and a stranger in the world, who from that time was necessitated to place his entire confidence in divine Providence. My chief anxiety was regarding a passport; for it being then in the midst of the seven years' war, and the French having beset the whole of the Rhine, it was difficult to effect a passage. If I had been stopped for want of a passport, there would have been no other means of release than by writing home, and then my father would have sent to bring me back. However, I arrived the next morning without any hindrance at Cologne; but continued near the Rhine, being afraid that if I went into the town a passport might be demanded.

Here I inquired, if there were any opportunity of

proceeding to Holland by water, and learnt, to my great satisfaction, that in an hour's time a boat would set off thither. I gave the man who told me this a gratuity to bring me to it. On arriving at the vessel, I found the captain already on board. I agreed with him for the passage, took my place in it, and we immediately departed. Long after I heard that at ten o'clock the same morning an express had arrived at the same place from my father, to bring me back again; and there my family had heard the last news of me.

On the vessel there were two other travellers, one of whom was from Frankfort, the other a journeyman apothecary; the former had been already in Surinam, in the capacity of clerk to a planter, and wished to return thither. We sailed, therefore, down the Rhine, all of us intending to proceed to Amsterdam. I came well off everywhere, though without a passport, except that I was very nearly detained at Wesel. After passing the bridge we were about to land, and our passports were demanded by a subaltern officer. Having none to show I felt embarrassed. The subaltern therefore informed me that I must stay there, and went to mention the circumstance to the officer on guard. Scarcely had he left us when the captain told us we must go on board, for he intended to set sail. I jumped into the vessel, and we set off without further hindrance. I silently thanked God for

having helped me out of this dilemma. Everything now went well, and in a few days we arrived at Amsterdam.

It was fortunate for me and the journeyman apothecary, that the individual from Frankfort was with us, otherwise we might easily have fallen into the hands of the people called kidnappers. He was also well acquainted with Amsterdam, and conducted us to a very good inn. I sometimes went out with my travelling companions to see the town, and its curiosities; but my chief desire was to meet with pious people, and next, to procure some employment, by which I might support myself.

I perceived by degrees that my fellow-travellers were still less provided with money than myself; but I did not let them see how much I possessed. I had, however, taken nothing with me from home, but what I could justly regard as my own, to which also naturally belonged the twenty dollars my father had given me; for my conscience did not permit me to take anything more.

I daily endeavoured to obtain employment, and sought out every opportunity for that purpose, but without success. And, as regards the pious people, who, whilst at home, I had imagined were so easy to be met with, I satisfied myself sufficiently, that amongst such a great multitude they were not so easy to be found. My Frankfort fellow-traveller

meeting with no immediate opportunity of proceeding to Surinam, was compelled to look out for something else. Through a relative, he became acquainted with the captain of an East Indiaman, to whom he engaged himself as purser. The other accepted the place of under-surgeon on board the same vessel, and thus I alone remained without employment. A fortnight had already elapsed, but there was still not the smallest appearance of obtaining a situation; and although I diligently sought out every opportunity, and applied to those who might have been of service to me, yet four full weeks elapsed, and I besought the Lord most importunately to open a door for my being employed in whatever kind of labour it might be. For I still hoped, that if I could only once obtain some certain occupation, I should gradually become acquainted with pious people, and, through their assistance and my good conduct, obtain some regular employment. But I found every path closed up, and the distress and oppression of my mind increased, since, with the total absence of all prospect of maintenance, my money began rapidly to diminish.

My fellow-travellers were still in the same lodging with me; for the ship, not having completed her crew, was detained. I had been several times, in company with my Frankfort friend, to visit the captain, who being by birth a German, still spoke his

native tongue tolerably well. One day he asked me whether I had any desire to make a voyage with him to the East Indies; for, in that case, he would take me for his servant. I replied, that I had no inclination for it, and would rather seek employment on land. He told me to reflect upon it, and that if I felt inclined to accept the offer, to come to him again. My fellow-travellers sought to persuade me to engage with him, but I could not resolve upon doing so. At length, however, seeing no alternative, I thought, since Providence opens no other door than that of captain's servant to the East Indies, I must resolve upon accepting it in God's name. I informed my fellow-travellers of my resolution, who were glad of it, and conducted me to the captain, who was also well pleased, and told me I must go the day following to the India House, and engage myself. After I had done so, he told me that as soon as public notice was given for the crew to hold themselves in readiness, I must come to him, and go on board with his effects.

I possessed, indeed, from my childhood a particular impulse and inclination to see and know the world; but I was now placed in the very midst of its bustle, against my own will. I was not deficient, it is true, either in courage or strength to undertake one of the most tedious and toilsome voyages; but still I was much perplexed when I reflected what might be the result in a religious point of view. I hoped, however,

amongst such a number, to find at least one, who would be of the same sentiments with me ; but, alas ! in this I was completely mistaken, as the sequel will show.

Meanwhile, I wished to possess Jacob Böehme's works ; but I sought for them a long time in vain, and inquired at almost every book-shop for them without effect ; but at length I found them at a vender of old books. I was very glad of the circumstance, purchased them, and, beside the bible, had no other religious or spiritual books with me on board the vessel.

At length the day arrived when public notice was given by beat of drum, that we were to prepare to go on board in three days, at the expiration of which the crews of four ships crowded out of the town for that purpose. He that has never witnessed a scene of the kind, can form no idea of it—music, bustle, and wild uproar are heard on every side, in such a manner as to bewilder the senses. One weeps, another laughs, a third curses and storms ; women crying aloud, weeping, and lamenting at the departure of their husbands, parents over their children, and children, on taking leave of their parents, whom they will perhaps never see again. In short, such a noisy scene is not to be described. The reader may easily suppose how such a poor solitary pilgrim as I must have felt, how much my heart, that languished

for repose, was oppressed by such a deafening confusion, and with what melancholy feelings it was assailed. But the divine Conqueror and dear Redeemer, who was likewise also in a vessel on the sea, and protected his followers in the storm, was also my sweet refuge, and my heart adhered with filial faith and confidence firmly to him who is powerful enough to preserve them that are his in every storm and danger. If, thought I, the vessel of my hopes does not founder through vanity and sin—if it does not suffer shipwreck on the rocks of pride, by self-security and carelessness, it will safely arrive at length in the haven of repose and safety! Thanks be to eternal love, which has hitherto preserved it in every storm!

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I gave more paid minute attention to them all. When alone a little more quiet than his companions, I tried in order to find out whether he swore and had language like the rest. But I at length discovered, to my great sorrow, that in the whole school there was not a single individual who had the appearance of fearing God. Hence my great sorrow and concern increased daily; but I could only yield to it during the night.

Once, on lying down full of care and painful reflections, shortly before day-break, the following words were impressed with much power and unction upon my mind.

"E'en though it last through all the night,
And till the morning dawn;
My heart shall still in God delight
And bid my fears be gone!"

I repeated these lines aloud whilst sleeping; but their power and unction caused me to awake in good spirits and cheerful. They also left such a divine strength in my heart, that I said to the Lord, "O my redeemer, I will no longer care and grieve, but commit myself to thy faithful protection; thou wilt, and thou shalt care for me!" I now felt comforted, attended dutifully to what was incumbent upon me, accommodated myself, as well as I was able, to everything. I endeavoured, amidst it all, to live in a

pleasing to God. Not being compelled to mingle with the crew, I could occasionally sit down in some quiet corner, and read or meditate on something profitable.

It has appeared remarkable to me, that from the time of my leaving home, my thoughts scarcely ever reverted thither, particularly so as not to wish to exchange my circumstances at the time for the state of restraint in which I was obliged to live there. The remembrance of my parents seemed to me to be like some object at a distance, and I almost felt as if I had no longer any parents or relatives in the world; and hence it did not even occur to me, to inform my parents what had become of me—a negligence which I afterwards greatly lamented, having learnt, two years later, that my mother had fallen dangerously ill on my account, and was not entirely restored, until she had heard that I was still alive. It was fortunate for me that I no longer felt any attachment to my family; for those who, when at sea, long greatly for the land, and cleave with their affections to some particular object, seldom come off well and without disease. Nay, I have frequently seen, that under such circumstances, all medicinal aid has been in vain, and death inevitable.

We were obliged to lie in the Texel till the 3rd of December on account of contrary winds; but the wind then changing to the eastward, we set sail the

same day. I had committed myself entirely and unconditionally to divine Providence, content with its disposal of me, however that might be. Hence I was not tormented by fear, either of the sea, or of any danger which might befall me upon it; being, as I have already mentioned, naturally devoid of fear. Having a favourable wind, we soon passed through the English channel, and entered the Atlantic ocean. During the first hard gale, I was seized with seasickness, but in consequence of eating nothing, I recovered in a few days. On new year's day, 1760, we passed the island of Madeira, and the weather was already so warm, that we could lay aside our thick clothing.

We proceeded prosperously on our voyage until we reached the line, where we were becalmed for a fortnight; we suffered much from the heat, which prevented us from sleeping below, whilst sleeping on deck was often attended with dangerous consequences. Thunder-clouds at length arose, and with the wind which accompanied them we reached more southern latitudes. Our voyage continued prosperous, and in three months we arrived at the Cape of Good Hope.

CHAPTER XIV.

Departure from the Cape—Storm—Arrival at Batavia—
Vicious course of life in India—The author graciously
preserved from it.

BESIDES attending upon the captain, I was obliged to learn everything necessary for a seaman to know. Those who wait upon the ship's officers, engage themselves as sailors to the East India Company, and are paid by the latter like the rest of the crew. The officers give them nothing, except an occasional present. Amongst the other servants I had the chief place, but being the tallest and strongest, was also obliged to be everywhere the first. The captain, observing my resolution and capability, wished to make a complete seaman of me. My geometrical knowledge procured me the esteem of the officers. Being accustomed solely to sea-charts, and not possessing any maps, and little acquaintance with them, I had a better knowledge of the interior of countries

than they all, and had also several maps of the East Indies with me. Those who had risen to the place of officers were for the most part illiterate sailors, who in process of time had acquired a degree of expertness in navigation, and were promoted until they were elevated to the captain's post.

At the Cape of Good Hope, it was the commencement of harvest, though in the month of March. Grapes, and other kinds of fruit, were already ripe, and we abundantly refreshed ourselves with them after the wearisomeness of a three months' toilsome voyage. We remained there only sixteen days, provided ourselves with every requisite, and then proceeded on our way, our course lying through the tempestuous Indian ocean.

We had a favourable wind for some hundred miles beyond the Cape, but then it changed into a storm. The wind being behind us, we let the vessel drift under reefed topsails; but suddenly the storm became so violent that the sails could no longer be used, and the waves broke over the vessel from the stern. This is one of the most dangerous positions in which a vessel can be placed; for, in order to endure a storm, the bow must lie to the wind. We succeeded in bringing the vessel round, though with great difficulty and danger, the storm increasing every moment, and the ship being almost covered by the waves, so that every one was obliged to hold fast, or even lash him-

self to some part of the ship. The vessel being new, and now lying to against the wind, we were enabled to ride out the gale, although it continued violent. All the live stock we had brought with us from the Cape was either swept overboard, or drowned in the vessel, but not one of the crew lost his life, and our masts were also preserved.

When the storm had subsided, we proceeded on our course, and sailed past the uninhabited islands of St. Paul and Amsterdam, keeping an easterly course, until we came in sight of New Holland: we then steered northwards, and made the island of Java. We coasted along this island for nearly fourteen days, with the trade wind and the most beautiful weather. As the island abounds with hills and valleys, covered with ever-during verdure, and the villages and huts of the Indians surrounded by cocoa-nut trees occasionally show themselves along the coast, it presents an uncommonly charming appearance whilst sailing past it. And it may easily be supposed how refreshing the sight was to us, who for a long time had seen nothing but water and sky, and had struggled with stormy seas, but were now at length approaching a safe harbour. At the extremity of the island we entered the straits of Sunda, which lie between the islands of Java and Sumatra. Here we were for the first time welcomed by the Javanese, who brought us turtle, cocoa-nuts, and other Indian fruits. From thence

we proceeded to Batavia, where we arrived safely on 3rd of June, 1760, after a six months' voyage.

I went ashore with the captain, and had an opportunity of seeing the town. But the country pleased me better than the town, for it contained nothing particular or remarkable, except that people of all nations were to be found there—Europeans, Javanese, Chinese, &c. &c.; but no appearance of piety in any of them. The manner of life in those parts is, for the most part, only a compound of every vice. I kept myself entirely apart from every thing that could have given me even the slightest occasion to a disorderly life, and sought by prayer and approaching to God and my Redeemer, Jesus Christ, and by the diligent study of the Scriptures and Böehme's writings, to establish myself in godliness. For this purpose the Lord granted me many an influx of his grace. Various infirmities, failings, and weaknesses, nay, often the feeling of an inclination to yield myself up to sinful acts, to which I was encouraged by others; occasioned me much fear and concern lest I should backslide from God, and again be involved in a sinful life. But the recollection of my previous conflicts and the wonderful grace bestowed upon me, replaced me in such a firm position, and endowed me anew with such strength, that I resolved rather to die than consent to a single sinful act.*

* This establishment of the heart is accomplished by divine

Our ship being destined for China, we left our soldiers at Batavia, and after unloading the cargo we took other goods on board, particularly a large quantity of pepper and spices. After a stay of three weeks we took our departure for China, which lies one thousand five hundred miles beyond Batavia.

grace ; but still it is said, "See that no one fail or neglect the grace of God." Here it was applied by fidelity in the first love, and by prayer and the study of the word of God in the midst of seductive examples. Hence the establishment of the heart, which, like the needle, cannot rest till it has found the pole. The imperfect walk and want of peace and firmness of mind in so many pious people, has its origin in deficiency of fidelity and entire resignation during the first love.—*Jung Stilling*.

CHAPTER XV.

Dreadful consequences of rage—Arrival at Canton—Awful storm—The ship takes fire—Two sailors killed by lightning—The fire extinguished—Effects produced on the crew—Arrival at the Cape—Return to Holland.

I CANNOT omit mentioning an event which occurred on board our vessel, and was attended with fatal results.

When the captain is on shore the chief mate takes the command of the vessel. Our cargo being completed a few days before our departure, our chief mate went also on shore during the interval, but left his servant behind him. The latter told the second mate, who was now the chief in command, that his master had ordered him to follow him, and bring some additional articles of clothing with him. This was, however, a fabrication. The second mate gave him the desired permission, of which the faithless man availed himself; made up a parcel, into which he put three hundred Spanish piastres of his master's money,

went ashore with his bundle, and made his escape. When the chief mate returned on board, he inquired where his Jan was, which was the name of his servant. The second mate answered his question by another, and asked him if he had not been with him ; relating at the same time the course of the matter. The chief mate then went to his berth, and found that Jan had robbed him. He came out in a fury, and went immediately on shore, but Jan was nowhere to be found. The next day the captain came on board, and the day following we took our departure. The chief mate looked like a maniac. The second day after setting sail he was in a violent fever, and dreadfully delirious. He called his Jan, reviled him, and seized his sword with the intention of stabbing him. It was an awful scene ! The fifth day he became so raging mad, that it was necessary to bind him, and on the seventh day he died in that state.

I was witness to all this, and was often present at it. It made a deep impression upon me, and I thought, "To what lengths may not the love of money bring a man !" Our ship's surgeon died a fortnight after in a violent fever. Many pieces of wrought silver, and other articles marked with the chief mate's name, were found upon him, which he had stolen from the latter during his illness. Such things are of frequent occurrence in a sea-faring life.

In three weeks we arrived, without any other particular event, at Canton, in China. Here we stayed six months. It was necessary that the ship should undergo a thorough examination and repair, the cargo be disposed of to the Chinese, and tea, china-ware, silk, &c. be purchased for the back-freight. There was an abundance of excellent provisions and fruit, so that eight oranges could be purchased for a halfpenny. The activity and diligence of the Chinese, particularly in agriculture, is admirable. We were not permitted to enter the town, but obliged to remain in the suburbs, where the Dutch, English, Danes, and Swedes, have their factories. The assemblage of such a great multitude of active and neatly-dressed people, both on water and on land, presents a very animated scene. It grieved me to the heart, that true Christianity had not yet taken root amongst the Chinese. I often wished that it had been extended amongst them, were it merely externally, for then there would be an opportunity afforded them of becoming by grace true Christians. Gravity, and a tendency to religiousness, lie in their character; but, at the same time, much that is false and deceitful—vices of which they boast themselves. There is at present no appearance of Christianity being introduced amongst them. A better preparation would probably be made for it, were the Christians by name, who resort thither from Europe, not quite as bad, if

not worse and more vicious than the natives themselves. It may be, that because Christians by their life and conduct so greatly belie their faith, and refuse to be Christians any longer, the Lord will eventually transfer the light of the gospel to the former, because the latter no longer esteem it; because they obscure and seek to extinguish it by the mists of vain philosophy and erroneous doctrine; and because many even maliciously assault it, and perversely reject and refuse to hear or know anything more about it. O that it may take place, without such an awful loss to European Christians!

After having taken in our cargo at Canton, and when everything was in order, we again set sail on the 8th of January, 1761. At Princes Island, in the Straits of Lunda, we took in an additional quantity of wood and water, and then proceeded on our way to the Cape. We were still several hundred miles distant from it, when we were overtaken by a dreadful storm, which threatened us all with the loss of life. It was about eight o'clock in the evening when this tremendous storm arose. It seemed as if the whole atmosphere was on fire; and the most awful thunder and lightning was by turns succeeded by the thickest darkness, all which appeared to gather close around us. The wind, which at the beginning did not blow strongly, was in our favour, and we sailed onwards with it for a considerable time. About eleven o'clock

in the night the gale freshened. All the sails, with the exception of the foresail, were taken in, and thus we proceeded on our way. But about half-past eleven, the thunder and lightning became so appalling, that we were every moment afraid of being struck by it. Orders were now given to take in the foresail, for which a number of hands were requisite. After they had ascended the mast and the yard, and were engaged in making it fast, the lightning struck right amongst them with such violence, that even those that were in the cabin and forecastle were thrown down by it. Every one exclaimed, "We are lost!" I was standing on the quarter-deck with the captain, but left him, and placed myself on the nearest gun. There I turned in prayer to God my Redeemer, and fervently commended my spirit to him in what I considered to be the last hour of my life. There was a dreadful outcry from all on board. After the captain had recovered from his stupor, and saw that the mast was on fire, he called out through the speaking-trumpet, which is always used when it blows hard, for the fire-engine. No sooner was this heard, than the horrible lamentation ceased, and every one made all the haste he could to the fire-engine, which was set a-going in a few minutes. By vigorous exertions, in which a torrent of rain which broke over us at the time the vessel was struck by the lightning, came very opportunely to our assistance,

we succeeded in extinguishing the fire. This danger being over, the captain ordered the well to be sounded, when only as much water was found in the ship as the evening before at eight o'clock. The captain now called out, "Courage, comrades, all will be well again!" He further ordered, since it was quite dark, the muster-roll to be called over, to ascertain how many had been killed, when it was found that only two had suffered, but many had been thrown down by the lightning, and several much bruised.

The two that had been killed were the worst characters on board the ship. Those that had been with them before eight o'clock the same evening, related, that whilst smoking their pipes, they had scoffed at God, heaven, and hell, and had blasphemed all that is holy—nay, one had endeavoured to exceed the other in blasphemous speeches. About twelve o'clock judgment had already been executed upon them, and they were transferred over to the other world. I thought it a remarkable circumstance, that though they were both at work upon the yard, taking in the foresail, yet one of them was next the mast, and the other far out, over the water, so that they had eight men between them. The lightning had torn all the clothes off the back of the one who stood next the mast, and thrown him down on the deck, by which one of his arms and legs were broken. The other had been struck in the midst of several, and hurled

down into the sea. Those that had been hurt gradually recovered. The mast was much injured, but after being strengthened by spars, it was again rendered useful. A hurricane followed this thunder-storm, which lasted for some days. When it ceased, and everything was again in good order, we sailed further.

Here I had a good opportunity for observing what effects such occurrences produce on the deceitful and desperately wicked heart of man; but I was more than ever convinced, that if the grace and love of Jesus do not change the heart, all the specious amendment, which the fear occasioned by appalling circumstances produces, very soon falls away again, and comes to nothing. Before the awful thunder-storm and tempest, the crew had made themselves merry almost every evening with dancing, at which the filthiest and vilest songs were sung. During the season of terror, and for some time after, nothing more was seen of the kind. All horrible cursing and swearing had also ceased, and in the evening, hymns were sung. One might have imagined oneself in quite another region. But this was, alas! only of short duration; for on arriving at the Cape, three weeks after, and when we were out of danger, the same course of life began again.

We were obliged to remain there for some time, waiting for the last vessels from India, in order that

we might proceed home in a fleet, in consequence of the war in Europe. At length, on the arrival of the last Indiaman which made up the number to twelve, we set sail together for Europe. The voyage was prosperous, and without any further misfortune. But as it was not safe to pass through the Channel, we sailed northwards round Ireland and Scotland, as far as the Shetland Isles, in hopes of meeting there with Dutch vessels of war. We were not deceived; for we found two there waiting for us. It was towards the end of June, and daylight did not leave the horizon. At midnight I could read as well as by day. We continued our voyage across the North Sea, and in the beginning of July, 1761, arrived again in Holland.

Several practical lessons may be learnt from this portion of the narrative, which will not escape the reflecting reader. The author had long and daringly resisted the attractions of divine grace; the Lord, therefore, after his conversion, thought fit to lead him by a more than usually painful path; he had abstracted himself from parental authority, under the supposition that he could not possibly retain his religion without external aid, and yet he was placed in a situation where he had not a single individual with whom he could converse on divine things. But so

far was this circumstance from depriving him of his piety, that through grace it was the means of his establishment, whilst those who were outwardly more highly favoured, returned, for the most part, to the world. The affliction into which his family were thrown by his sudden departure, appears a just recompence for their previous cold and unkind treatment of him.—*Note of the Translator.*

CHAPTER XVI.

The author writes to his family—Travels to Altona—Disappointed expectations—Resolves to go to sea again—Repairs to Amsterdam.

THUS was this voyage completed, during which, through divine grace, I had not been seduced from my purpose to belong entirely to my Redeemer. The resolution to serve him alone in simplicity of heart, and to love him supremely, had, with his gracious assistance, continued firm and unshaken. For this purpose, he afforded me such communications of his grace and love, and animated my courage so powerfully, that I was willing to die rather than consent to any known sin. Such were the sentiments of my heart on my return to Holland.

Although we had four times passed the Line, yet during the whole voyage I had enjoyed such good health, that I do not remember a single hour in which I suffered from illness, with the exception of the sea-

sickness, which, however, cannot be termed a disease. The Lord graciously assisted me in everything, and granted me ability, so that I was a general favourite without joining in any sinful or indecorous act or connexion. But this did not prevent him from perceiving that I had still many weaknesses, faults, and infirmities.

On expressing my repugnance to go to sea again, the captain and the rest of the officers advised me to the contrary, and said that I ought to pursue that course of life, because I was a good seaman, and, as such, might expect promotion. The captain offered to provide for me, and assist me in procuring a good situation. But this was entirely opposed to my sentiments; and the captain had conducted himself so ill, that the merchants, who had been sent to China by the East India Company, complained of him on their return, so that the Company did not appoint him to the command of any more of their vessels.

However, I could not resolve upon returning to my parents, because I knew not whether they would receive me affectionately, or treat me as before. I therefore determined, after I had received my money from the Company, to proceed to Altona, a town in the vicinity of Hamburgh. For having read and heard, that persons of every religious denomination were to be found there, I concluded that there must

be truly pious people amongst them. My principal object was, therefore, to find them out, and then to obtain some employment, by which I could subsist. I had no desire to earn much in the world, and if divine Providence only afforded me the happiness of possessing pious friends and some quiet situation, where I could gain a maintenance, I would then employ and spend all my powers of body and soul in the service and love of my God. I was quite captivated by this wish and project, which entirely occupied my thoughts; but through what strange paths was I obliged to pass, before it pleased the Lord to grant me my wishes !

After my return to Amsterdam, I wrote to my father, and informed him, that I had made a voyage to the East Indies, and was at present in that city ; I hoped that he, with my dear mother and the rest of the family, were all well—to hear this would afford me heartfelt pleasure, but I could not wait for their reply at Amsterdam, because I had resolved to travel to Hamburgh. As soon as I had a sure place of abode, where I could wait for his answer, I would write to him again, and I then hoped to hear of their welfare.

After receiving my money from the East India Company, I departed on board of a Hamburgh vessel for Altona. I then immediately endeavoured to find out pious people, and obtain some employment. 1

went to the meetings of the Mennonites and some others, but found no one with whom I could converse in a familiar manner upon religion according to my feelings and convictions. The opinions which distinguished one sect from another, had nothing but the outward form, and bore too much the stamp of sectarianism for me to concern myself about them.

Being so well acquainted with the clergy in my native province, and not having found that in them which I regarded as genuine godliness, and because our preacher, in particular, had contributed much to the painful events which had befallen me, I did not seek for cordial friends either amongst the preachers or the church party; but after escaping from my father's house, I always thought I should find them, as in my own country, amongst those who were regarded as sectarians, with which name I was likewise always branded. Having, therefore, heard and read that many such people resided in Altona, my motive in travelling thither was to meet with them. But God in his wisdom did not permit me to fall in with any one with whom I could have fellowship. In the sequel, after attaining more inward light in the ways of godliness, I felt convinced that the Lord by this means graciously preserved me from being entangled with any sect or party. If, in my state of mind at that time, I had met with friends who harmonised with me, and belonged to any particular sect, I should

gladly have joined them, and imbibed all their peculiarities. And thus I should probably have been ensnared, and deprived of the blessings which my Redeemer had destined for me.

I therefore inquired in vain for pious people, and was equally unable to find employment, however assiduously I sought it. My wrestling and struggling with Providence for assistance rose to its height; but there was neither help nor deliverance to be found. At length, I resigned myself to whatever the Lord should please to make of me. My lodgings were dear, and I had already resided there a considerable time. My stock of money was now so much diminished, that it was necessary for me either to depart or to involve myself in debt, and thus be at length compelled to abscond as a swindler. In this mournful and perplexing state, I said to myself, What shall I do? To apply to my father, and ask him for money to enable me to travel home, would have been more painful to me than death itself, for I could not expect anything else, even regarding the matter in the most favourable point of view, than to be frequently reproached for leaving home, and, perhaps, be compelled to endure the same oppressive yoke of restraint of conscience I had borne before. I could not, therefore, possibly take this step, not only on this account but also from feelings of honour. Hence, there was nothing left me but to return to

Amsterdam, and to serve again on board an East Indiaman. Necessity compelled me to resolve upon this step ; I sold a few articles to pay my debts, and as much still remained as enabled me to return to Amsterdam.

I arrived there just as the Company's ships were completing their crews, and immediately engaged myself. In a couple of years, thought I, if it please God, I shall be here again, and shall then have earned so much money, as to be able to return home with honour.

I now wrote once more to my father, and informed him, that though I had returned from Hamburgh, yet I had again engaged myself on board an East Indiaman, and would set sail in a few days from the Texel ; I wished him, therefore, to be so kind as to write to me, and inform me how all the family were. His letter might be addressed to my lodgings, and then I should infallibly receive it in the Texel.

It would have been a fortunate circumstance for me, could I have been placed with my former captain ; but he had been unable to obtain a ship. Being unacquainted with other captains, I was obliged to be content, under existing circumstances, to do duty like other seamen. I was not deficient in expertness, ability, and strength, for that purpose. But the disorderly manner of life, and the dreadful licentiousness

and viciousness of those amongst whom I was now to live, was a real hell to my mind, which desired to live solely as in the presence of God and for him. My gracious God, nevertheless, assisted me in everything, and brought me safely through.

CHAPTER XVII.

The author sets sail from the Texel for Bengal—Letters from home—Malignant fever and mortality on board—The author's illness and recovery.

THE reader must, therefore, be content, if he wishes to know what further befel me, to take another voyage with me to the East Indies ; but he may be glad that he does so only in idea and on paper ; on board the vessel, he would not have found it such an easy matter ; for it was a painful and extremely fatiguing voyage for me, in which I often thought I should have found my grave in the ocean. But it pleased the goodness and compassion of God not to take me away in the midst of my days—no ! he intended to preserve me, that he might still further and more obviously manifest in me his power, grace, and love. Even now I desire to thank thee for this also, my divine Redeemer ! Be all that I am and have once more presented as a thank-offering unto thee for it !

Towards the end of October, 1761, I proceeded to the Texel in a good and new vessel destined for Bengal. I had become acquainted in Amsterdam with some Germans who belonged to our vessel. They had already served either on board merchant-ships or men-of-war. There being eight of us, we agreed to mess together, and afford each other assistance when necessary. Part of them were Hessians by birth, and we therefore regarded each other as countrymen. In other respects, they had been all corrupted by a seafaring life, and were devoted to every vice; hence, in reality, I could have no friendship with them. But it was necessary there should be a good understanding among us, that I might receive assistance from them when requisite.

After I had been about a fortnight on board the vessel, a whole packet of letters were forwarded to me from my lodgings. Several of them were from home, and one of them from my father, who stated, that he regretted having treated me in such a manner, but that he could not well have acted otherwise, for being compelled to look upon me as deceived, it was his duty, as a father, to bring me over to other sentiments, either by kindness or by force; that he had taken care of Böehme's work, and if the Lord so ordered it that I should return to him, he would restore it to me. He also informed me that my dear mother had been ill for the greater part of the last

two years on my account, and that all medical aid had been in vain ; but that she had been so cheered at the first intelligence that I was still alive, that she had already in a good measure recovered her health. In other respects the family were well, and wished much that I had returned to them, and hoped that the Lord would preserve me, and again bring me back to them.

This letter, together with those from others of the family, made such an impression upon me as almost to overwhelm me. At length I took them, folded them together, and laid them in the bottom of my chest, reflecting at the same time, that if I did not turn away my mind from them, it would be the death of me ; and that if I only confided wholly in God, and encouraged myself in him, everything would go well. I tranquillized my mind with these considerations, and sought to forget everything. However, I now felt that I was again beloved by my parents and family, and was able cordially to love them in return.

Our ship's company consisted chiefly of soldiers destined for Colombo, in the island of Ceylon, in consequence of war with the king of Candy ; hence, the vessel had to call there before proceeding to Bengal. These men were most of them deserters from the armed powers in Germany. The whole equipage consisted of about three hundred men, of whom only

ninety were sailors, which was too small a number for such a vessel. The soldiers being unaccustomed to a seafaring life, malignant disorders broke out amongst them even in the Texel. During my former voyage, only two-and-twenty had died; but now the case was very different. Three or four frequently died in a day at the Texel.

We had long been waiting for an easterly wind, which at length set in on the 13th of December, and the next day we set sail. In the channel, the wind shifted again to the westward, and the cold was so piercing, that many of the soldiers had their feet frozen in such a manner that their toes dropped off. The sickness also increased to such a degree, that there were days in which seven were thrown into the sea. We were obliged to tack in order to get through the channel and reach the open sea; but the wind was so contrary, that we made little or no progress.

Not feeling myself very well, I remained on deck until afternoon. But being able to endure it no longer, I was obliged to lie down. This was in reality the first sickness I had hitherto experienced, to which the letters from home probably contributed. I had taken a severe cold, but had also caught a malignant fever which raged on board the vessel. Four of my messmates already lay ill, and my sickness was so violent, that I could scarcely wait upon myself the next day; and in consequence of the

number that were ill, we had little assistance, it being almost impossible for the physician and his help-mates to attend to all. Towards evening, on the seventh day, my disorder rose to such a height that I thought I should soon make the transition into the other world. I fervently committed myself, therefore, to my Redeemer, leaving it to him to do with me as he pleased. The more the night advanced, the more my disorder increased, so that at midnight I was no longer conscious of myself. I had at that time no one to attend to me, or lend me a helping hand. My three comrades, who were still in health, were obliged to be almost always on deck. During this dreadful period of my disease, and whilst I was in this state of complete unconsciousness, I fell out of my hammock, and on recovering my senses next morning, found myself lying at some distance between two chests. My disorder had reached its crisis and taken a favourable turn, and I requested some one I saw near me to help me again into my hammock, which he accordingly did. My recovery was rapid, and I was soon able in some measure to attend to myself again.

CHAPTER XVIII.

Arrival at Portsmouth—Continued mortality—Vicious life of the crew—Tedious passage to the Cape—Departure for Bengal, and arrival in the Ganges—Sickness—Voyage to Negapatnam.

AFTER we had striven for upwards of a fortnight against wind and weather, and saw that we could not reach the Atlantic with that wind, and such severe cold, we ran into the harbour of Portsmouth. I was now able to go about again, and could already be of some assistance to my sick messmates. Two of them died ; but the other two recovered as well as myself. The aspect which the crew presented was gloomy and pitiable in the highest degree, and because so many corpses were carried on shore, the report was spread that we had the plague on board. Some English physicians were, therefore, sent to ascertain what kind of a disorder it was, which carried off so many people, and they found that it was a malignant fever,

which the soldiers, who had deserted from the armies in Germany, had probably brought on board with them. Those that were well soon forgot the misery they had endured, and plunged themselves into the vilest excesses, openly and shamelessly committing the grossest abominations, and parting with the things they required on the voyage for the gratification of their beastly lusts. The dreadful consequences of these excesses afterwards manifested themselves on board the vessel. The most disgusting diseases broke out amongst the men, whilst those that were infected with them, instead of receiving sympathy, were only ridiculed and derided whilst under medical treatment, notwithstanding their cries, groans, and lamentations. Such a vicious course of life is still more common in India, where most Europeans lose their health and strength, and very often their lives also.

In January, 1762, after a number had died, and whilst many were still on the sick-list, we sailed from Portsmouth with a favourable wind. But our voyage proved a very tedious one, in consequence of the prevalence of contrary winds; our provisions also decreased rapidly, and the allowance became more and more scanty. Added to this, the scurvy began to rage, and many of us were severely attacked by it. In short, the number of the sick increased so much, that scarcely a sufficient quantity were left to manage the ship. At length I was also seized with the scurvy;

but I did violence to myself, and kept on deck, because I knew that if I yielded to it and went below, where I could take no exercise, it would be the death of me. I therefore took my station on deck with the rest, and worked as much as my strength would permit. Our prospects were now so gloomy, that very few had the hope of ever seeing land again. However, it pleased divine Providence not to suffer us all to perish. The wind at length became perfectly favourable, and we made such progress, that we at length perceived the high land near the Cape.

No one, who has not been himself in a similar situation, can form a perfect idea of the feelings and sensations of individuals who are in such an extremely deplorable condition at such a sight. One morning at daybreak, when the cry of "Land! land!" was heard, we felt nearly as a malefactor must feel who hears the sound of pardon at the place of execution. Whoever was still able to move, crept upon deck to feast his eyes on the sweet prospect. The day following, we sailed into False Bay, because, on account of the stormy season, we dared not run into Table Bay. We had been upwards of five months on the voyage. Above eighty invalids were sent to the hospital; we had lost a hundred and eight men, including twenty Englishmen who had left us at Portsmouth: the rest had died, some of whom had thrown themselves into the sea from despair, and perished.

Four of my comrades were amongst the dead, and two were sent to the hospital. Those that could still move about remained on board, and were all soon restored by the use of fresh provisions. With a deeply affected and grateful heart, I returned thanks to the goodness and love of my Redeemer, for having protected and preserved me thus far amidst all the dangers by which I had been surrounded ; and solemnly resolved to continue faithful to him in all things, and to love and serve him alone during the whole of my life.

It was not long before we recovered so far as to regain almost all our strength. We received from a vessel, which had arrived from Middleburg, after a three months' passage, and had suffered little, so many hands as to enable us to proceed on our voyage. We set sail, therefore, after having sufficiently recruited ourselves, and taken in the needful supply of provisions.

Our route now lay between Madagascar and the coast of Africa, through the channel of Mozambique into the Indian Ocean. We came first to Cochni, where we remained a week, and then sailed to Tuti-corin. We did not venture to proceed to Colombo, on account of the stormy season of the year ; we therefore landed the soldiers at the former place, who were taken in vessels to Colombo. We afterwards

proceeded on our voyage to Bengal, and at length arrived safely in the Ganges.

I there spent the most of my time on shore at the Company's factory ; my good conduct and knowledge in many things having gained me the esteem and confidence of the captain and all the officers, much was entrusted to my care, particularly as there were very few there that were trustworthy. Many of our people went over to the English ; others joined themselves to a caravan, at some distance up the river, which was about to proceed by land through India and Persia to Turkey, and was in want of people for its escort. It is true, I frequently felt inclined to undertake this journey by land with the Armenians, in order by this means to return to my native land the sooner ; but having once taken an oath of fidelity to the Company, my conscience would not permit me to do so.

I had now an opportunity of obtaining a tolerably correct acquaintance with Indian manners and customs, because I was obliged to associate chiefly with the natives. I preferred, however, repairing to quiet and solitary places, the better to converse with him whom my soul loved. I often wished and earnestly besought the Lord to afford me an opportunity of returning to my native country, where I resolved to devote to him the remainder of my days. But such an opportunity was not to be expected there, unless I

went over to the English, which, as already mentioned, my conscience did not permit.

When I had been there above five months, I had to proceed from the Hooghly with a vessel loaded with goods committed to my charge, to our ship, which lay at a distance of thirty miles from thence. It rained all night, and the vessel having no deck, I was wet through, which brought on an attack of the ague. I bore up against it for some time; but was at length compelled to retire to the hospital, where I was well taken care of. The physician was by birth a Hessian, I believe from Marburg, and a very friendly man, who did all in his power for me in consequence of my captain's urgent recommendation. But the ague proved obstinate, and could not be soon expelled. I was not, however, particularly ill with it, and during the intervals between the fits I was able to go about. At length it disappeared; but yet I did not feel myself perfectly well.

After a six months' residence in Bengal, and when the vessel was ready to set sail, the captain sent me word to come on board again, if possible. The physician told me, that I was not yet quite free from the ague, and that he was apprehensive it would break out anew at sea. But the captain would not leave me behind, and again sent me word to come on board, even if I were only half able. I therefore resolved to do so; but the physician's opinion proved, alas!

only too correct. In a few days we sailed down the Ganges to the open sea, and put in first at Bimilipatam, where much Indian cloth is manufactured. Here the ague, which was of the tertian kind, again attacked me. After remaining there a week, we sailed to Negapatnam, where we staid four weeks, the greater part of which I spent on shore. But my tertian ague still adhered to me. I could eat with as good an appetite as the most healthy individual, between the attacks, but at the same time my strength daily diminished, and I looked greatly emaciated, but was still always able to go about.

CHAPTER XIX

Hindoo procession—Remarks.

I HAD an opportunity, whilst at Negapatnam, of being present at some of the religious rites of the Bramins. I had indeed seen many of their usages and ceremonies in Bengal, but had not been present at any similar to those which took place here. It was just the time when they carried about their deities or idols in procession. They brought them out of a pagoda in the evening when it was quite dark. No one who is not of their religion is permitted to approach the pagoda. They passed us at some little distance from the pagoda, in the following order, as nearly as I can remember.

First, a multitude of Hindoos in rank and file; these were succeeded by musicians with Indian music and trumpets. After them followed a numerous troop of young females, very splendidly attired in silk

and lace, having their arms and legs covered with rings of gold and silver. A costly ring depended also from the nose over the mouth. Next came, immediately before the idol, a troop of men, probably priests or bramins, and then the idol itself, with a yellow fan, probably gilt, of the stature of a man, drawn by several individuals in a lofty steeple-like car of bamboo, which was about thirty feet high, eight feet thick, and covered round about with lace, except in the front, where there was an opening, through which the idol was seen sitting on a throne in the inside of the edifice. A great number of torches were carried before it, as well as by the side of the troop of women, whilst a great crowd of Hindoos followed behind.

They frequently stopped; the music then began to play, and the women danced and jumped in such a strange and fantastic manner as if they were beside themselves. After this had lasted awhile, the procession again put itself in motion, and passed in this manner through the town, until they came near another pagoda, when they uttered a cry to signify that no one who did not belong to them should go a step further.

I ventured, some nights after, to witness the solemnities still more closely. But they did not finish with the night. At six o'clock in the morning we found the lofty tower placed on a huge carriage, but

without the idol. In its place sat one of the females in her splendid dress, who the evening before had danced and gesticulated so strangely. Towards the top of the tower the musicians were placed, who with their trumpets emitted long and continuous sounds. Some hundred Hindoos dragged the carriage along by a thick cable, and thus the procession passed through the town. Authors who have resided a long time in the interior of these countries assert, that frequently a fanatical Hindoo, as a penance for his sins, will throw himself before the wheels of the chariot, and thus suffer himself to be crushed to death.

I could relate many such scenes and occurrences which I witnessed in these countries ; but it does not accord with the object of my biography to expatiate upon the manners and customs of countries ; particularly since those of my readers, who take a pleasure in them, may find sufficient satisfaction for their curiosity in the writings of many authors. I could not, however, omit mentioning the above, because it had reference to religious ceremonies, which gave occasion for me to make many remarks, one of which I will here subjoin.

I have already stated in the narrative, that I was very harshly dealt with in my native land, and that the clergyman, of the place where my family resided,

was chiefly the cause of it. Being acquainted with the sentiments of more of the clergy in those parts, and not finding that in them which I regarded as true godliness—this consideration, together with the being compelled to go to church, where I only heard the truly pious scandalized and vilified, made me at length a strict separatist. But after witnessing the absurd and pitiful religious rites of the Hindoos, Chinese, and other heathen nations, it reconciled me again in a great measure to the outward christian church. I was convinced, that, however many imperfections existed in it, and however remissly its ministers in some places conducted themselves, it still had supreme advantages over all other religious constitutions in the world. Hence it ought reasonably to be regarded as a great favour from God, that he still preserves it, even in its outward form; and though the preachers themselves do not always practice the doctrines of Christianity, yet they are obliged to preach them, by which many an individual, through the co-operating grace of God, is often brought to reflection, and prepared for true godliness. If I had not had the happiness of being brought up and instructed in the christian church, I should, doubtless, have had no better ideas of religion than these Hindoos, and other heathens. Afterwards, when confirmed by further experience, in my opinion of the

necessity of an outward divine service, I abandoned my separation, adhered to the church, and have also continued in it to the present hour, as will appear from the sequel of this history.

CHAPTER XX.

Voyage to Trincomalee—Restoration to health—Expression of esteem—Taming of elephants—Solitary rambles—Voyage to Batavia.

FROM Negapatnam we sailed to Trincomalee, in the island of Ceylon. The war with the king of Candy being still carried on, we brought with us from Bengal much provision, particularly rice, for the troops who were encamped about eight leagues from Trincomalee. My ague still continued, and I became daily more weak and emaciated. Our doctor told me that I could not recover on board ship; that I had already consumed the whole stock of bark; and that there was a spring a few miles up the bay, the use of which he regarded as the only means left for my restoration. He promised, therefore, to speak with the captain to make arrangements for sending me thither; he kept his word, and the captain sent me with the boat and two of the sailors, that I might not

be without company, or exposed to danger in the wilderness. The boat took with it many water-casks, several of which were filled with this water, and taken back for the use of the captain. We retained eight of these casks, placed them one upon another round about us, leaving sufficient room for our small party within. We covered it at the top with sails, and then our dwelling was complete. We had taken with us bedding and provisions. The country around us was very hilly, and the spring burst forth from a rock at the head of the bay ; its waters were incomparably beautiful and well-flavoured. This water, together with fish that were equally savory, and of which we caught as many as we pleased with the line, and cocoa-nuts, of which we found some trees, were, under the divine blessing, the means of expelling my ague. In a fortnight the boat returned and took us back all in good health ; mine improved so much that I gradually became as strong as I had been before.

The captain and the other officers showed me so much care and attention, as frequently excited my astonishment. The doctor also gave himself much trouble about me, so that it was evident he was extremely concerned for my recovery. My good conduct and ability in the execution of that which devolved upon me, probably contributed the most to this. I had never been seen in a state of intoxication,

although there were occasions, in which no one but myself continued perfectly sober. I was then the only one that was able to return everything to its place.

We had an opportunity at Trincomalee of riding upon elephants, of which there were both wild and tame. The expertness of the tame elephants was astonishing, but not less so their cruelty towards their untame brethren. When a wild elephant was caught, it was their business to render him tame, which frequently gave rise to singular scenes. Two tame elephants take a wild one between them, and if the latter refuses to perform all that they point out to him, they beat him most unmercifully with their trunks, till he becomes docile, and does whatever is desired of him. Many are then rendered tractable, but others not; and I myself saw two, who would rather let themselves be beaten and starved to death, than suffer themselves to be tamed.

Occasionally I felt very desirous of being released from the noise and bustle of a sea-faring life; and because I could not long associate with any of the ship's company, from their resorting so much to the Indian women, I was often impelled to seek solitude, either in some wood, or on a hill. My ardent desires after him, whom my soul loved supremely and solely, then flowed unimpeded. I frequently shed tears in abundance, and then proceeded forwards with

renewed courage on the path by which Providence was leading me.

At length we sailed from thence to Point de Galle, also in the island of Ceylon, where much cinnamon grows. Then we took in provisions and ammunition for Trincomalee. After we had again arrived at the latter place, an English vessel of war came and laid itself before the bay. It fired a few shots, and gave us a sign to come on board. We sent our boat thither, which brought back the intelligence that peace had been restored to Europe. The seven years' war was, therefore, at an end—an event at which, doubtless, millions rejoiced, and for which they had great reason.

Our captain married at Trincomalee, the widow of a governor, who, according to report, was very rich. This gave again occasion to the ship's company to eat and drink to excess, and licentiousness and disorder were carried to an extreme.

After having finished our business at Ceylon, we sailed for Batavia, but were obliged to take in sand for ballast, because Trincomalee produces no article suitable for commerce. The captain took his wife with him to Batavia, and fixed his residence in the town. He promised to provide for me, and endeavour to procure me a situation on shore. I thanked him for his kind intentions, and begged him to bear me in mind, but added that I should prefer removing

to a vessel about to sail to Europe ; he told me, however, that seven months might elapse before there would be an opportunity. However, he arranged that I should leave the ship, and have the command of the order-boat, which every morning receives the commands of the governor, who resides in the town, and brings them to the vessels in the roads. This business was generally finished before noon, and thus I had the rest of the day for myself.

The last of my messmates died in the hospital at Batavia. We looked upon each other as countrymen, and were always on friendly terms with each other. At Trincomalee I frequently warned him, nay, I urgently besought him to avoid licentious intercourse, since he himself had witnessed the fatal consequences. Sometimes he listened to me, but more frequently derided me. However it cost him his life, at Batavia. I was, therefore, the only one left of eight, who constituted our mess. What became of the two, who went to the hospital at the Cape, I never learnt.

CHAPTER XXI.

Residence at Batavia—Occurrences there—Return to the Cape, and finally to Amsterdam—Thankfulness—Reception at home.

BATAVIA is an unhealthy place, where many are carried off, particularly those who lead a disorderly life. After the ague had disappeared, I regained my health, yet during the seven or eight months of my residence there, I was never perfectly well; but still I came off without any decided attacks of illness. In the afternoons I generally went into the country, and most frequently to the Chinese place of interment, which lay in a solitary and woody region. The appearance of these graves is pleasing, being arched above the ground; I have seen some in China which were entirely of porcelain. This shady retreat was my most favourite resort in the whole of that part of the country. Here I frequently poured out my heart before God, and was refreshed. Here I made

him a hundred vows, that if he would happily restore me to my native land, I would dedicate my whole life to him. There I would live to him alone, and spend all my powers of body and soul in his love and service.

I entered into a more intimate acquaintance with an inhabitant of the town, who once accompanied me in my walks to the burial-place. Being in the habit of frequently cursing and swearing in conversation, I requested him not to do so, since I believed what he said without his confirming it by oaths; that it was a sin to curse in such a manner, and even if it were no sin, it was still indecorous, &c. This occasioned him once to tell me, that he had a little book at home which would suit me better than him. On asking him what it was, he answered, that as far as he could remember, it was called "Kempis." On my wishing to possess it he took me home with him, and gave it me. It was entitled "The Smaller Kempis,"* and I subsequently learnt that the late Gerhard Tersteegen had made a selection of passages of the Latin works of Thomas à Kempis, and had published them in that form. The book proved very useful to me. Its perusal has often recalled me from a dissipated state of mind, and the edifying

* A translation of this excellent work has recently appeared under the title of "the Companion to the Christian's Pattern," published by John Mason.

passages contained in it made a deep impression on my heart.

All my desires were now directed to live entirely to God and my Redeemer, and serve him. But since I was constrained to be amongst those who never think of such things, nor met with any one in all my travels to whom I could open my heart, and disclose what I felt, I was often dejected at my situation, and ardently wished that God would assist me in escaping from Batavia. But I was compelled to possess my soul in patience, and wait till it could be accomplished.

I went frequently to church ; but the preachers were ten times more drowsy than in my native country, and their discourses did not afford the slightest food for my heart. But I still found edification, invigoration, and comfort in my bible, and Boëhme's works, to which was now added the Smaller Keimpis. My faithful Redeemer also frequently manifested himself, by communications of his grace and love, as my deliverer and helper in all the occurrences of life. Hence I again took courage, confided myself entirely to him anew, went on my way boldly, and patiently awaited the hour in which he would deliver me from a life of noise and bustle. Ah, how many vows did I there make to my God and Redeemer ! How often did I promise him that all I had should be his property, both in this life and that which is to come !

At length the time arrived when there was a prospect of shortly returning home. Several vessels began to take in cargoes for Holland. After they had completed them, and were ready to put to sea, I procured an order to be received on board the best of them. I therefore went again on board, and already regarded myself near home, notwithstanding I was such a great distance from it. In a week's time we weighed anchor, to pass through the straits of Lunda.

A dreadful misfortune was here on the point of happening to us. The wind blew strongly against us, and we were obliged to pass these straits by tacking and carrying out the anchor. The officers here took in slaves, whom they intended to sell for a great profit at the Cape, since the passage thither cost them nothing. We had in all thirty-six of them on board, who were all at liberty, and some of whom waited upon the officers. They had all conspired together to murder, first the officers, and then the rest of us, for which purpose they had concealed all sorts of weapons, knives, &c.; then they intended to run the ship aground, and swim away from it. The evening before this murderous plot was to have been carried into execution, the whole affair was betrayed by a little slave-boy, who was a favourite of the ship's surgeon. They were consequently all seized at once, the ringleaders put to death, and the rest put in irons. After tacking for a fortnight together, we reached

the open sea, and proceeded on our voyage to the Cape. I will not detain the reader with a lengthened description of the passage thither, since it would furnish little of an interesting, and still less of an edifying nature. Suffice it to say, that though we experienced several storms, we arrived safely and without any particular accident, at the Cape ; from whence we again set sail, after the requisite delay, and at length, in the beginning of June, 1765, cast anchor in the Texel, from thence I immediately repaired to Amsterdam. My first thoughts, on again treading my native soil, were to surrender myself entirely to my God and Saviour anew. My heart was filled with gratitude for all the love, protection, and preservation I had experienced, and penetrated with the irrevocable resolution to spend my whole life in his love and service.

At Amsterdam I found letters with a countryman of mine, from my father, who requested me, immediately on my arrival there, not to delay my return home ; that he would give me full liberty of conscience, and that I might live with him as I pleased. I informed him, in reply, that I had arrived in Amsterdam safe and well, and hoped in a short time to meet them all under happy auspices. After receiving the money due to me from the company, I travelled to Utrecht, and from thence in the diligence home, where I arrived in the beginning of

July, 1765, after an absence of five years and eleven months. All were rejoiced to see me again, particularly my dear mother, who had suffered much on my account. I was also happy to see them all again in good health; but I no longer felt any particular attachment to parents or relatives. I cordially loved them all, but felt in my mind as if I were a stranger in the world, and nowhere at home.

CHAPTER XXII.

Visits and consequent dissipation—New converts—The author's fruitless attempts to re-awaken himself—Feels attracted to a passive state.

THE reader will have seen, from the preceding narrative, that the Lord extends his protection to them that are his in every part of the world; that he is powerful enough to preserve us from all seduction in the midst of the most reprobate characters, if we only manifest fidelity towards him, and are obedient to his gracious attraction. When I now look back upon the period spent in the midst of such vicious characters, and call to mind all the corporeal and spiritual dangers, which are connected with such voyages, I am constrained to admire and gratefully adore his power, love, and mercy towards me. It was he who upheld me in life, when every hope of recovery seemed to have vanished; it was he, who by his gracious Providence frustrated the murderous plan of the slaves

on board our ship, to which I should probably have fallen a sacrifice ; it was he, finally, who so powerfully strengthened me by his grace and love, that I was enabled never to swerve from my purpose of living to him and serving him, so that I would have chosen death, rather than have consented to any vicious action. Thy powerful grace and love, O my divine Redeemer ! were alone competent to produce such sentiments in me ! It was solely the power of thy Spirit, and of thy love to such an unworthy object, which held me fast, so that my determination remained unshaken. Thanksgiving, praise, love, and adoration, be ascribed unto thee, O my God ! for this, both now and to all eternity !

I now received many visits, not only from my relatives, but also from those who were desirous of hearing me recount the particulars of my voyages, amongst whom were even some of the first people in that part of the country. I had seen, experienced, and endured so much, that I was able to entertain them all, and satisfy the curiosity of each, especially since I was acquainted with the world, not only by my voyages, but also from maps and study. But all this caused me much dissipation of thought, in which it was secretly whispered to my heart, " Where are the many vows and promises which thou hast made, both on sea and land ? Art thou now living so completely abstracted from the world ? Dost thou serve

and love the Lord alone? Dost thou employ all thy powers of body and soul for his glory?" Ah, how this overwhelmed me! I felt extremely embarrassed, for I saw that, in consequence of so many distractions, I had removed far from my heart, and from him whom I wished to love solely and supremely, and with all the powers I possessed.

The christian friends, with whom I had been acquainted previous to my departure, had become in some measure lukewarm and worldly-minded. The most serious of them was dead, the rest were married, and by this means again entirely entangled with the world. There was only one of them with whom I could still particularly converse upon godliness. But a few leagues from us, new awakenings had taken place. These friends were now in their first seriousness and fervour; by them I was again incited to fresh diligence, and I exerted myself anew by this path of activity to attain my object, relieve my spiritual necessities, and satisfy the desires of my heart. But, alas! I was still inexperienced; anxious indeed to walk in the ways of God, but still judging of them only according to appearance; neither did God suffer me to find food and satisfaction in this path of self-activity. The more I exerted myself to make advances in godliness, the more did everything fall away. I felt more and more wretched, and could obtain nothing with all my efforts; so that I often

thought it was better with me at sea, in the midst of all the noise and the bustle, than at that time. But I was unable to help myself.

My silent desire for that peace, which Jesus has promised to his people, was, on the one hand, very fervent ; but on the other, the inability to obtain this by my own efforts was still greater and more powerful. Thus of myself I could do nothing. Jesus, who possesses this peace within himself, and has engaged to bestow it upon them that are his, can alone impart it to us. But it is necessary that he first bring us into that order, and place us in that state of mind, in which he can impart it—which is, humility and passivity, or a state of rest ; as it is said in Isaiah, (xxx. 15, 16,) “ By returning and rest shall ye be saved, in quietness and confidence shall be your strength.”

I appeared to myself as if my mind had been previously like a spring, from which the water issued forth of itself, but now like a pump, from which, even with great effort, scarcely a few drops could be obtained. I was much perplexed and concerned about myself, particularly when I saw the seriousness and zeal of the new converts, and compared my state with theirs.

But in the midst of all this, I felt an ever greater attraction to tranquillity, introversion, and abstraction. This attraction frequently induced me to with-

draw from everything of a noisy nature, and retire into solitude, where I unfolded all my desire to my divine Redeemer, in a gentle, tranquil, and simple manner. It then pleased his goodness and love to impart a deep impression of his peace and love to my heart. I often quietly and solitarily withdrew into the garden, and with a tranquil and longing eye directed to my Saviour, disclosed to him the desire of my heart, and continued cleaving to him by faith, and in entire resignation. (1 Cor. vi. 17.) On these occasions, such serenity, cheerfulness, repose, and peace pervaded my spirit, that I knew not what to think of it. I plunged myself with heartfelt gratitude and adoration still deeper into this principle. My heart and mind became so replete with peace, serenity, and tranquillity, and with such a deep and blissful impression, that I scarcely knew myself any more, and so full of love and gratitude towards my Redeemer, that I knew not how sufficiently to manifest my thankfulness to him. All that was within me was almost constantly occupied with a grateful sense and adoration of his love and mercy. I enjoyed the presence of my divine Redeemer almost incessantly; all that I performed was done in the consciousness of his nearness and before his face, and everything of an external nature led me to him. This especial grace was vouchsafed to me towards the end of August; consequently, not long after my return home.

CHAPTER XXIII.

Deeper insight into the ways of godliness—Increase of meekness and forbearance—Blessed and peaceful state.

ALONG with the grace which the Lord thus vouchsafed to me, I also received for the first time a correct insight into the ways of God and godliness. All that was harsh, self-opinionated, and stubborn, gradually departed from me. I could now bear with the weaknesses and infirmities of each—nay, I could even bear with the greatest sinners. I also no longer felt any more of that inward repugnance which previously so often excited me against those preachers who fulfilled their duty in a slothful and negligent manner. The exterior of religion also appeared to me in a very different manner than before, to which, indeed, the impressions I had received from witnessing the religious rites of the Hindoos, Chinese, and others, greatly contributed.

I was now completely at liberty in my parents'

house, to act according to my conscience and conviction. I might either go to church or stay away—no one said anything to me on the subject. The preacher who had formerly officiated there, and had been one of the principal causes of my harsh treatment, had been removed to another place. His successor was a quiet and tolerant man. But whether he did as much good as the former, and whether he kept the parish in the same degree of moral order, is very dubious. His predecessor excelled in this particular. He was a man deserving of all respect; it was only to be regretted, that he did not possess a tolerant spirit. But he that succeeded him was a tolerant man; and because I had seen in other respects how needful the observance of an outward form of worship is, and that without external order and instruction, the christian religion must fall to the ground, because, in that case there would be no preparation for anything better—I therefore diligently attended church and sacrament, and reminded myself at the same time of the unspeakable love of Jesus in the great work of atonement, and of all the blessings and benefits which my divine Redeemer had purchased for me by his sufferings, death, and resurrection, and the grace and love which he had displayed towards me in all my ways.

The most—I may say all—of those that were awakened, who were at variance with their preachers,

took offence at what I did ; but this gave me no concern. I followed with a free conscience my light and conviction, and left others to judge of my conduct as they pleased. But when an opportunity occurred, I set before these friends their faults, their obstinacy, and stubbornness, with reference to the preachers and the outward worship of God, and proved to them that they by no means thought and acted according to the mind of Christ. I often told them, that if we once became truly acquainted with ourselves, and perceived how much there was still to amend in us, we should be glad to lay down the sword, and only think of our own amendment. But it is extremely difficult to convince those whose minds are in such a state, and give their ideas a different direction in this matter. It is always best to have patience with them and commit them to God. If they are really sincere, his grace will eventually give them a deeper insight into themselves, which will humble them, and make them forget to judge. Every one must act according to his conviction ; for that which is not the result of conviction, of faith, is sin. I can bear with him who does not (from conscientious motives) attend church, as well as with him who is a regular attendant. If the former devotes himself in all sincerity to the practice of godliness, and manifests himself with all fidelity as a follower of Jesus, I value and esteem him. But if he be only a railer

and a scoffer at preachers and church establishments, and seeks to exalt himself as a reformer, in spiritual pride and self-conceit, I then refuse to have anything to do with him.

They that are newly awakened, are invariably exposed to the greatest dangers, especially if they fall in with such acquaintances, who have an inclination for innovations, and that which is extraordinary, particular, and imposing. Of this I have seen, during my life, many melancholy examples. Sects and parties not unfrequently arise from them who assail each other, and are even a cause of offence to sober-minded men of the world, whilst they become the derision of the thoughtless multitude. A great awakening took place in my native country. But amongst the awakened, there were some who had a propensity to things of a marvellous and imposing nature; and because they were applauded and extolled on account of their high-sounding expressions by various individuals with whom they became acquainted, they were strengthened in their opinion of themselves, and the correctness of their cause, and their spiritual loftiness increased to a still higher degree. Long after, on returning to my native land, from a nine years' residence in America, I found that these awakened persons had entirely deviated from the path of truth, and were in a state of melancholy confusion, which had been occasioned by an individual,

who also caused much mischief at that time in the place where I was. They were so enveloped in error, and committed such follies as would scarcely be believed. They were even ashamed to name the name of Jesus, and almost refused to hear anything more about godliness.

I pursued, as already mentioned, boldly and courageously, the path which the Lord had opened out to me. When I looked upon others, and perceived in them some things of which I could not approve, and would gladly have seen otherwise, I was reminded of the words, "What is that to thee? Follow thou me!" My whole desire was now directed to follow my Jesus, and to become like him in his humility, self-denial, and contempt of the world. For this purpose, besides the holy Scriptures, I made use of such books as appeared to me the most edifying and suitable. My Redeemer granted me such a love to him, and so strong an attraction to enter more and more into his fellowship, that my silent and tranquil desire after him was one continued act of love, adoration, and humiliation before him; and all this was done with such a profoundly tranquil and peaceful mind, that I often thought, Ah! if there is here so much peace, serenity, and blessedness to be found in Jesus and his fellowship, how will it be in eternity!

Everything I beheld in nature, down to the meanest

worm, led me up to the adoration of him, who had animated and inflamed my heart with his love. His teaching and intimate nearness pointed out to me the smallest spots and imperfections. He incited me continually to the denial of my own will, my own intentions—nay, everything in which the senses found pleasure and gratification. The love of my Redeemer had taken such possession of my heart, that I could no longer exist without the consciousness of his intimate nearness. In this consciousness of his love, those hours were the dearest and most blissful to me, which I could spend alone with him in retirement. Hence, on Sundays, when the weather was fine, I frequently took a piece of bread in my pocket, went into the wood, and remained there the whole day before him, in exercises of love, adoration, and contemplation of his great mercy and loving-kindness. Ah! what beatifying, sweet, and delightful hours did I there spend! in which, so to speak, God and I were alone in the world. In such a state the individual loves God with all his heart, with all his soul, with all his mind, and with all his strength.

My cousin, whom God had formerly used as an instrument for my conversion, had become very lukewarm in religion. I often spoke with him upon the importance of earnest perseverance in the ways of godliness, and the necessity of manifesting fidelity in

order fully to obey the vocation of grace. He, indeed, asserted, that he was desirous of leading a godly life, but that he now felt himself too much fettered to the world; and because he had taken a wife, he thought it impossible to live in the manner he had done before. I replied, that no outward change ought to restrain us from living up to our gracious calling; that in the marriage state, likewise, we ought to serve the Lord and to live so as to please him; but we must exercise great fidelity; and if we did so, the Lord on his part would not fail to communicate the needful strength and ability. But notwithstanding my admonitions, he made little progress. On one occasion he came to me, and said he had been at H——, and had there learnt from a friend, that at Mühlheim, on the Rhur, there dwelt a pious man, of the name of Tersteegen, who had published several works;* and that his friend had lent him one of them. I requested him to lend it to me for a few days, which he did. It was Tersteegen's "Spiritual Flower Garden." I perused it with pleasure and edification, and finding my state of mind at the time expressed in the hymn, "O God, thou art not known aright!" I conceived a great desire to become personally acquainted with its author. I procured all the works he had published, and found

* See "Life and Selections from the Letters and Writings of Gerhard Tersteegen." *Third Edition.*

in them such nourishment and encouragement, that I was greatly strengthened to go forward still more cheerfully upon that path, to which the Lord had attracted, and in which he was leading me.

CHAPTER XXIV.

Thoughts on Jacob Böehme's writings and the philosopher's stone—Warning against seeking the latter.

I NOW ceased reading the works of Jacob Böehme. I had for a long time felt no more incitement to study them, because I no longer found in them that spiritual food which they had at first afforded. They are of too speculative a tendency, and incite the individual to know much and penetrate into mysteries, whilst the heart continues for the most part cold and empty. I have frequently observed this effect in those who have immersed themselves too deeply in the study of these writings. During my voyages and travels, I had often read them with much light and particular unction, and believed at last, that all the depths, and all the mysteries of which Böehme writes, were unfolded to me. And how many of Böehme's adherents also groundlessly believe this! In the

sequel, indeed, I was convinced, that this was not fully the case; however, I know, that at the time I found much in them which was encouraging, and promoted my advancement in the divine life. These writings were very seasonable to me on board ship, and I found much in them that was interesting and edifying, because at that time I was fond of speculating on many subjects. Perhaps I might otherwise have again become worldly-minded, or have fallen upon things which would have again fettered me to the world. These works were very useful and beneficial to me in my situation at that time, particularly because they insist so strenuously upon earnestness and perseverance; and although, since that period, I have seldom or ever perused them, yet I had made myself so well acquainted with them, that I still retain many things contained in them.

Jacob Böehme appears to me to have been a man favoured of God, and gifted with such peculiar talents as are rarely met with in a mechanic.* In what he says concerning the seven forms of nature, the three principles, and other things, there is much that I

* The Rev. William Law, an Englishman, who was much attached to Böehme's writings, has placed his system in the clearest light. I have had the opportunity of reading the works of this author in the English language, and must confess that I have found very much that is devotional and edifying, as well as many great and sublime ideas, in them.

cannot reject. At present it seems to me, as if he had read much on chemical subjects, and appropriated many terms and expressions from them, as well as that he invented many of them himself, by means of which he might express christian truth ; for which reason he will always remain unintelligible to many readers. Various awakened individuals, who, if possessed of talents and fond of speculating on abstruse subjects, immerse themselves in this man's writings and conceptions, clothe and express their ideas in his peculiar language, and then wonder at themselves as peculiarly enlightened individuals. By this, I do not mean to bring an accusation against all the friends of Böehme ; there are certainly some amongst them who are sincerely pious, and who are edified by his writings. But, generally speaking, those who diligently study them have a high opinion of themselves, and look down upon others, who do not applaud them, as dark, blind, and utterly inexperienced individuals. They generally show much inimical feeling against preachers and the outward church. But this is entirely opposed to love, and to the humble, meek, and tolerant spirit of Christianity—the principal characteristic of a true Christian. I have met with several, both in Germany and America, who were incited by these writings to seek the philosopher's stone, which plunged them at length into temporal and spiritual wretchedness. Having

been almost in the same situation myself, I can speak in some measure from experience.

Before I made my first voyage to the East Indies, I found in the shops of the venders of old books in Amsterdam, various alchemical works, such as those of Basilus, Valentinus, &c., which I purchased, and studied deeply whilst at sea. I believed that I had comprehended everything so well, that I resolved in my heart, when once I possessed a quiet abode on shore, I would make the philosopher's stone; for I imagined myself minutely acquainted with the whole process, and had no doubt of success. But after the Lord had granted me superior light and other views, and on clearly seeing that I was by no means the character I ought to be, all such speculative subjects had no longer any charms for me.

I have said above, that many have rendered themselves miserable, both in body and soul, by seeking for the philosopher's stone, in proof of which I will adduce the following example.

As I continued on friendly terms with the awakened individuals in my native province, one of these friends once wrote to me to come to him at an appointed time, because he and others had an affair of importance to lay before me. Accordingly, I repaired thither, and found several friends assembled at his house. They informed me that they had become acquainted with a very pious man, who was residing in an upper

chamber in the house ; that this man had a very profound insight into the mysteries of nature, and particularly into the process of preparing the philosopher's stone ; that having at present no place of residence, they intended to provide him with one, where he might undertake the process ; but that he required *six hundred rix dollars* in order to procure everything that was necessary for that purpose. They consequently inquired of me whether I would not take a part in this good cause, seeing that it would place us in a situation to do much good to the poor, and to assist the pious amongst them in such a manner, as that they might live without care, with much more to the same effect. But I told them that the thing appeared suspicious to me, and that I was apprehensive of dangerous consequences. However, before explaining myself further, or coming to any resolution, I must see and converse with the man. I was accordingly introduced to him ; and because I had formerly reflected much on this subject, I entered into a long conversation with him. I found, indeed, that he was, in some respects, a pious man, and no wilful deceiver ; but that by his alchemical labours, he had impoverished himself, and still flattered himself with the hope of eventually finding the philosopher's stone. But I was convinced that this would never be the case ; for even at that time I doubted of its existence and possibility. When

again alone with the friends, I declared to them that I would not have anything to do with the matter, because I knew before-hand, that all the money supplied would be lost. But if the man was in want, and would seek some other mode of maintenance, I was ready to contribute towards relieving his necessities, but would give nothing to the project they had in contemplation. I at the same time warned these friends, and entreated them to have nothing to do with the matter, for they would certainly repent of it. But all was in vain ; they were so captivated by the thing, that those who had no money in hand borrowed of others, and involved themselves in debt. The result was, that the man in the course of a year had expended all their money, without advancing a hair's breadth in the process. They now lamented, but too late, the loss of their money, and that they had not followed my advice. I have known several similar occurrences in the course of my life.

CHAPTER XXV.

Inward state—Grievous trials—Obscurity and barrenness.

AFTER continuing half a year in the blissful state above described, it was succeeded by a state of severe and inward trial. The delightful feeling of inward peace and joy was taken away, and I experienced many severe temptations in the senses. But I adhered firmly by faith unto him who had already granted me so many favours, and by his grace I was secretly preserved and upheld, so that I was kept from falling, and enabled passively to endure this ordeal. All the passions, which for a season appeared to have been mortified and slain, awoke in me anew ; I was compelled most sensibly to experience pride, lust, and the love of the world, and temptations of every kind assailed me from all sides. This was a source of deep sorrow and suffering to my soul.

Once a proud spirit came, which made everything appear to me in a contemptible light, and rendered me dissatisfied with everything. It suggested to me, that I ought not to have given up the seafaring life; that I might there have developed my talents, and have risen to the rank of captain, or some other post of honour in the Indies; that for this purpose there was still time, and that if I went to sea again, I should make my fortune. The temptations were often so violent, that I thought they would overcome me. But faithful is he who hath called us. He will not suffer us to be tempted above that we are able. He supports those who show fidelity to him. If they seek to be humble, Jesus upholds them by his grace, so that they do not fall, nor are moved; and causes everything to end beneficially. When desirous of actively defending myself against these foes, and of striving against them, I was unable to accomplish anything, and they seemed to become only the more potent. But when I had occasionally the happiness to find a quiet and secret place in my heart, and kept myself passive and tranquil there, temptation ceased to assail me. And because all things must work together for good to them that love God, all that I now experienced proved highly profitable to me afterwards. For after enduring this painful purification for three months, it pleased God to deliver me from it, and I found that I was thereby placed in a

much more established state of mind. I lost, indeed, that susceptibility, relish, and inward enjoyment, which borders so much on the senses, and mingles with them, but in its stead, I possessed a faith, which was exalted far above everything that can be felt or experienced through the medium of the senses. This faith is so beatifying, that the individual gladly parts with all certainty for its sake. By it, the arrangements which God has made by Jesus Christ for the salvation of mankind are revealed to the soul in a much greater degree than it was otherwise capable of perceiving. It is that beatifying faith, which unites us with God through Christ, of which our Saviour says, "He that believeth in me, out of his belly shall flow rivers of living water." It is that faith which purifies the heart; and by it, the man's spirit may in some measure see God as he is in himself; for they that are pure in heart shall see God, which cannot take place here below, otherwise than by this faith; for since God is an entirely incomprehensible and beatifying being, who, according to the holy Scriptures, makes darkness his habitation, (Psalm xviii. 11,) this sight or vision of faith cannot be otherwise than general and obscure. Hence this faith, which is entirely distinct from historical and rational faith, may be justly termed obscure faith.* This faith is the

* *Historical* faith is that which regards the histories and testimonies of the Bible as true, and receives them without

victory, by which believers overcome the world, themselves, and all things.

My state of mind now became more and more profound. That which was sensible and savoury gave place to acts of faith, love, adoration, and glorification of him who animated and possessed my heart. But there were frequent intervals of mental dissipation, darkness, barrenness, and suffering, which for a short season concealed the object of my affections from my view ; but then my heart was afterwards re-animated by a so much greater influx of grace and love. If I had committed faults, or stumbled on any particular occasion, or if I had not been sufficiently attentive in keeping the doors of my heart, and thus become dissipated by my own fault, this influx was withdrawn

scruple. It is the basis of every other species of faith, and must necessarily exist in the mind. For " he that cometh unto God must believe that he is, and that he is the rewarder of them that diligently seek him." *Rational* faith considers the truths of religion in a rational manner, and seeks, by means of diligent application, to impress them upon the heart for the purpose of growth in goodness, and as a means of virtue and amendment of life. Our Lord had probably *obscure* faith in view, when he said to Thomas, " Blessed are they that have not seen, and yet have believed !" To this also probably refer the words of David, " When I walk in darkness, the Lord shall be a light unto me." This state of mind is evidently distinct from that expressed in the words, " Taste and see, that the Lord is good."—*Jung Stilling*.

from me, or, to speak more correctly, the inward centre in which is the sanctuary of God,* was concealed. I was then obliged again to come as a poor, self-accusing sinner, before him, who had forgiven me so often and so much; and he again opened his paternal and loving heart, and forgave. I then felt most deeply ashamed, when, after the commission of many faults, and much inward dissipation, in which I could no longer find rest, I returned in silence to God. For it frequently happened, that instead of the well-deserved reproofs and correction which I anticipated, he loaded me with so much the greater loving-kindness and mercy. On such occasions I could scarcely contain myself for confusion and gratitude, and it humbled me so much that I regarded myself as unworthy of every favour.

Thrice a day I had a set time for private prayer, in which I was solely engaged with my God and Redeemer in acts of love, adoration, and glorification. It was, in fact, not an occupation, but a gentle introversion, surrender, and passive resignation of myself into the hands of him, to whom everything I am and have had been long committed and resigned.

* "The kingdom of God is within you." Luke xvii. 21.

CHAPTER XXVI.

The author visits Tersteegen—His father wishes him to marry
 —Commences the making of laces—Intercourse with
 God.

HAVING derived much benefit and edification from Tersteegen's writings, and perceived in them a much purer and clearer light than in many other works which treat of the divine life, I conceived a great desire to become personally acquainted with this friend of God. I travelled therefore, in August, 1770—a year in which so many blessings were conferred upon me—to Mühlheim on the Rhur, and found in the worthy man far more than I had anticipated. He treated me with distinguished affection, and I daily spent several hours with him, as long as I remained there. After having related to him the particulars of my awakening and singular guidance, he became so loving and open-hearted towards me, that I was quite

captivated with the dear man. He felt a cordial sympathy with my state of mind at that period, and told me, that if I only faithfully followed the gracious attraction, which the Lord had vouchsafed to me, all would be well. I stated to him, that our present preacher manifested much tolerance, and advanced nothing from the pulpit against those who led a retired life; asking him, at the same time, whether I ought, under these circumstances, to continue a member of the church? He advised me to retain the outward form of worship without scruple, unless the preacher vented calumnies against godly men; in which case it was our duty to abstain from attending unless compelled; adding, that by continuing to attend church, disturbance was avoided, and the individual could walk so much the more tranquilly before God.

After spending some days with him, and becoming acquainted with many other friends, I wished to return home. The worthy man would gladly, indeed, have retained me a short time longer, but I told him that my heart was so full, that I could no longer bear it, and must seek, by travelling home, to soften the flame of love which burned in my heart, and which I could scarcely endure any longer. He was satisfied with the reasons I adduced, and said, "Go home, then, with the divine escort we will continue affectionately to remember each other before God!" His

words and the blessing he pronounced upon me at parting, continued to be long and beneficially remembered by me.

On my return to my father's house from my voyages to the East Indies, I took my part in all the business that occurred there. I had only one brother, who being alone amongst so many sisters, was in some measure spoiled by indulgence, and played me many tricks. I bore his behaviour as patiently as I could, but clearly saw that my residence there would not be of long duration. My father now also began by degrees to talk to me of marriage, and proposed to me a young lady of a certain family, of whom he told me that I would certainly obtain her hand, if I desired it. I replied, that I was not well acquainted with her, and that with respect to her I felt no affection for her; nor could I marry a person merely for the sake of her property; mutual love must lie at the bottom, otherwise I neither would nor could enter into an affair of such importance. I also told him that he need not be under any concern about me, for divine Providence, to which I had entirely resigned myself, would provide for me. After my father understood my sentiments in this matter, he urged me no farther, and merely observed, that I ought to know best what suited me; that I was old enough to care for myself, and must see how I made my way through the world.

My dear mother had by degrees made me acquainted with the situation of our family. She informed me that my father, in consequence of living too expensively in his capacity of lieutenant of the district, and of the bringing up of eight children, of whom only one had died, had involved himself in debt. His steel-forges, indeed, yielded him a considerable income, which would have been sufficient of itself to have made him a man of property; but he had committed the charge of them principally to others, who took every advantage of him. Notwithstanding this, he was still a wealthy man; yet I clearly saw that I should be unable to live according to my inclination from a seventh part of his property, and hence I began to think of some other employment, by means of which I could pass quietly through the world, and earn a maintenance in a tranquil manner.

One of my cousins, who had resided for some years at Elberfeld, came to our village not long after my return from the Indies, and visited me. On observing that he was inclined to good things, I spoke with him on the importance of our state of probation, and that we ought to prepare ourselves, and let the Lord prepare us during this season of grace for a happy eternity. My words made some impression on him, and on his coming to reside in our village shortly after, we continued our intercourse, and he felt inclined also to devote himself to a godly life.

He had had an opportunity in Elberfeld of becoming acquainted with the first inventor of machines for making laces, by which means he had attained to such an insight into it, that he himself had made some of these machines, and worked upon them. The thing being still new, it appeared as if something might be earned by it. My cousin had taken his brother-in-law into company with him, who attended the Frankfort fair. Possessing a great degree of friendship for me, he offered me the half of his share if I would become a partner, and thus accept a fourth part share. He wished at the same time that I would remove to his dwelling, where we might keep house and labour together. I hesitated much at first to enter into the plan, because I thought that my cousin's piety was not to be particularly depended upon, since it had not yet been put to the test. However, my inclination to a quiet but industrious mode of life overcame my scruples, and I accepted his offer. We resolved not to enter further into worldly business than was necessary for our subsistence. We therefore gladly conceded the half-share to my cousin's brother-in-law, on condition of his transacting the business for us, procuring us sufficient materials, and disposing of the article when manufactured.

We then both entered upon the upper part of the house, worked together, and sought to live piously

and acceptably before God. I therefore now enjoyed a quiet and retired life, whilst labouring with my hands. My attraction, and all my desire, was still more intensely directed to live in complete abstraction and filial dependance upon my God of love, and to walk before him. Not far from our habitation there was a little wood upon a rocky height, to which I resorted in the evening whenever the weather permitted, and frequently remained there until a late hour. Ah, how many a blissful season have I spent there in affectionate intercourse with my divine Redeemer! His love animated my whole heart. All that I was, and all I had, was repeatedly and irrevocably offered up, and entirely resigned to him, that he might do with me according to his good pleasure both in time and eternity. I cannot describe the particular operation of his grace which I there experienced. I often lived more in eternity than in time. This divine love led me on still farther, that the soul might be at length united to God in Christ. But before this is actually accomplished, many tedious obstacles must be surmounted. The love which is imparted to the soul in this state is pure, because it is of divine origin; "He that abideth in this love, abideth in God and God in him; for God is love."

CHAPTER XXVII.

Feelings on the reception of divine gifts and graces—Self-love severely reproved—Prayer for an enlarged heart.

NOTWITHSTANDING the profound divine peace, which was connected with these influences of grace and love, I did not cleave to them with any degree of firm attachment. I could part with everything that was imparted to me, and let it fall back again into its source. At the same time there were seasons in which all susceptible influx of divine love was withdrawn, in which I was placed in a state of crucifixion and suffering, and my heart was a prey to darkness, barrenness, and weakness. All this I received as from the hand of love, and frequently said, "O my God, thou art the sole object of my love—not on account of thy gracious gifts and communications, but because thou art alone worthy of being loved! Thou alone canst supremely satisfy me! Even in the

greatest darkness, barrenness, and suffering, I am continually with thee. Do with me as seemeth thee good !

If I had not caused my sufferings and darkness by my own fault, and if my heart had not reproached me for offences committed, I could easily have lived by faith, and could have well endured all suffering, darkness, and barrenness. But when I occasioned them, as was, alas ! too frequently the case, from being myself to blame, although it was more difficult to bear, yet I approached my divine Redeemer with the same child-like confidence, and poured out my sorrows before him. "I come to thee," was my language, "as a poor, impatient, and erring sinner ; graciously forgive me for the sake of thy sufferings ; uphold me by thy grace and love, and preserve me from stumbling and falling ; for thou knowest that I am only a poor and frail creature, a worm of the dust, that possesses nothing but weakness and infirmity, and cannot do otherwise than transgress as long as it is left to itself." When I firmly resolved to be more careful, and upon my guard, in order not to commit faults, to avoid some particular thing, or to act in a different manner, I then generally stumbled only the more. This gradually caused me to lose all confidence in myself, and in my ability to preserve myself, and induced me to resign myself so much the more unconditionally and entirely to the divine preservation.

But, however kindly and gently I was treated by reproving grace with respect to my transgressions, faults, and weaknesses, I was so much the more severely corrected, for self-confidence and trusting in any measure to myself. On such occasions I was left alone, as it were, and then I lay in wretchedness, infirmity, and self-caused darkness and barrenness, which was very painful. I was then compelled as a poor creature that had nothing, and could do nothing of myself, to return to Jesus my Redeemer, and entirely resign myself to his pure grace and compassionating love.

The grace which the Lord granted me in my state of mind at that time, had a sharp and penetrating eye, and tried the reins and the heart. It laid open the most secret blemishes. That which was most repugnant to me was my self-love, self-complacency, self-will, and the appropriation of the good that was granted to me. All this was revealed to me to its very foundation by the God of love, who sought to reign alone in me. It was clear to me that these were the worst foes to my repose, and my peace with God ; that if it were in their power, they would place themselves in God's stead in my heart ; and that they were cunning and deceitful enough to assume every disguise, and to envelope themselves in the garb of the most specious virtue, piety, and holiness, only for the purpose of exalting spiritual pride. Thus it was

verified in me, that "the word of God is quick and powerful, sharper than any two-edged sword, and piercing to the dividing asunder of soul and spirit, the joints and marrow, and is a discerner of the thoughts and intents of the heart."

So much did I feel opposed to the remains of this self-will, self-love, and self-confidence within me, that I frequently exclaimed, "O God, my eternal love, what a wretch I am ! All thy especial grace, and thy loving-kindness towards such a poor creature as I am is polluted by my pride and usurpation ! Suffer not this unrighteousness, O eternal love, to exist any longer. Rescue thy own honour, and let thy righteousness reign, till all thy enemies become thy footstool. Ah ! rather take all away ; let me be poor and divested of everything, than be suffered any longer to pollute and defile thy gifts, thy goodness, and thy love, with my impurity, pride, and usurpation of them !"

Divine love was now very severe ; it was a consuming fire. (Heb. xii. 23.) I could not live without it, but the approach to it in the centre, where its sanctuary was, seemed insupportable to my nature. My heart was too little and too narrow to endure its operation ; so that I often said, "O my eternal love, thou must either enlarge my heart, or moderate thy operation, otherwise I cannot exist, I cannot endure it any longer !"

That which takes place between God and the soul at such seasons cannot be described—it must be experienced. I also find that the farther I advance in my narrative, the less I am able distinctly to describe what God in Christ has wrought in me by his grace. Those who have experienced it will understand me the best. “But the natural man cannot possibly know the things of the Spirit of God; they are foolishness unto him, and he cannot comprehend them,” (1 Cor. ii. 14.) For, what “no eye hath seen, nor ear heard, and has never entered into the heart of any unenlightened man, God has prepared for them that love him. But God has revealed it to us by his Spirit. For the Spirit searcheth all things, even the deep things of God.” (1 Cor. vi. 9, 10.)

CHAPTER XXVIII.

Remarks on the work of redemption by Christ, and the restoration of fallen man.

I WILL now subjoin some particulars respecting my views and experience in this state, and which I found frequently confirmed in the sequel.

Those who feel the divine attraction, and strive to belong entirely to God and their Redeemer, are frequently accused of not sufficiently appreciating the atonement of Jesus Christ our Saviour; but that, whilst passing it by, they seek to make themselves holy and acceptable to God by their own acts and efforts. By so doing, that which Jesus hath done and suffered for us, is entirely set aside, and a mere self-righteousness established.

But these are only calumnies, which emanate mostly either from such as wish to make Christ the minister of sin, or who might be justly accused of

being the very characters, who, by their own activity and efforts, wish to make themselves righteous and holy, however much they boast of the merits of Christ. In this there lies a mystery, concerning which Jesus rejoiced in spirit, and said, "Father, I thank thee, Lord of heaven and earth, that thou hast hid these things from the wise and prudent, and hast revealed them unto babes. Even so, Father, for so it seemed good in thy sight!" (Luke x. 21.)

If the former part of my history be perused with attention, the reader will see what this divine Saviour and Redeemer did for me, a wretched and rebellious sinner; what a precious Redeemer he was to me, and I filially hope will continue to be to all eternity! I trust there to return him ardent thanks for all his benefits, for his unspeakable love to me, which he exemplified in his bloody sufferings and death, and his totally unfathomable work of redemption. I there hope with a humble and grateful spirit to fall down amidst the multitude of the heavenly host, and to exclaim with them, "Worthy is the Lamb that was slain to receive might, and wisdom, and riches, and glory, and strength, and thanksgiving, and praise, and power, for ever and ever. Amen."

But it was only in the state that I have just been describing, that I have fully perceived and experienced what great need there is of a Redeemer and Mediator between God and man. God cannot reveal

himself otherwise than he really is—a holy, pure, and righteous being. Therefore every created intelligence that is desirous of approaching him, and of uniting itself with him, must likewise, in its measure, possess, according to its capacity, these divine attributes, and be also pure, holy, and righteous. If an intelligent being have nothing of these qualities, God, as God, cannot possibly approach it, he cannot unite himself with it. Were God to approach to such a being, he would be a consuming fire to it, however good and beneficial he may be in himself.

But I must enter a little further into this part of the subject, because it concerns the work of redemption, which surpasses all the conceptions of angels and men, and is intended to show its necessity—a mystery into which even the angels desire to look. I am well aware that this important subject has been treated and commented upon in a profound and more systematic manner by many able and pious men ; but as my intention is to write the history of my life, and my feelings and experience in the ways of godliness, I will now subjoin my views and ideas respecting it.

The holy scriptures teach us, that God created man in his own likeness, for the purpose of promoting his honour and glory ; but that man, by disobedience to the divine commands, fell from this blissful state, and lost the image of God. In this lapsed state, God, as God, could no longer approach man, because

he was dead to that by which he stood in fellowship with God. It was said to him, "In the day that thou eatest thereof, thou shalt surely die." Adam did not immediately die a natural death, but he died with respect to his noblest part, by means of which he stood in connexion with God; hence Jude describes natural men as "not having the Spirit," (v. 19.) This Spirit, this lost divine life, must therefore be reproduced and restored in man by regeneration, in order that he may re-attain to fellowship with God, and be again united with him. For, as already observed, God, in his purity, holiness, and justice, could no longer have fellowship with man. Although he himself is a loving and beatifying being; yet it is only a pure or purified spirit can feel and experience him as loving and beatifying; he continues to be a consuming fire to the sinner, unless he were suddenly to translate him from his sinful and polluted state into a state of purity and holiness. But no mortal could endure the sudden change. The fire of divine justice and holiness is intolerable to the sinner. The Israelites, nay, even Moses himself trembled before Jehovah, even when he only outwardly gave his law. But how would they have been able to endure it if Jehovah had written and engraved his laws at once in their hearts and minds? Nor could God himself, if I may so speak, accomplish this sudden change of a sinner into a saint, and perfectly righte-

ous being by any miracle, because he created mankind free, and will not do anything against this liberty, nor can do anything, rationally considered. He cannot make him a saint by force, or without his will and consent.

The clear view and conviction that God cannot possibly have communion with fallen-man, and at the same time my profound sinfulness and corruption, which I felt to be so painful and oppressive, but from which I could not deliver myself, and which caused me to feel my extreme need of a helper and deliverer, convinced me so fully, on the one hand, of the indispensable necessity of a Redeemer and Mediator between God and man, while my faith attained, on the other, to an unshaken steadfastness in the certainty that such a Redeemer and Mediator had appeared, and still existed, according to the gospel, by the experience of his real aid. Every attack upon our most holy religion had no effect upon me, nor caused me the smallest doubt, because Scripture and experience in this point were united. It was become an experimental principle with me, that God must necessarily come into the world, condescend to us, clothe himself with our human nature, and thus be near us in Christ, if we are to be saved and united with him. God manifested himself, therefore, to us in the flesh because we could not bear any revelation of him of another kind. He sent his own Son to re-

deem us, and the way to the most holy place is now re-opened to us. "Great is the mystery of godliness—God manifested in the flesh." (1 Tim. iii. 16.) By the sufferings and death of the Son of God the way is again open to us, and pointed out by the evangelists and apostles, by which we can again have fellowship with God as our Father. It is Jesus alone who is able and willing to blot out our sins, by whom we have boldness in God, to draw near to him as our God and Father; out of him, God continues to be to the sinner a terrific and consuming fire. His purity and holiness are qualities which cannot be other than repulsive to him, but which are tempered in our great Mediator, the God-man; in, and by whom, the divine operation and influence becomes not only tolerable, but sweet, pleasing, and delightful to the sinner.

Were the sinner not reconciled to God through Christ's blood and crucifixion, he could never be sanctified, nor again united with God. This must necessarily be accomplished by a divinely appointed Mediator. God loved the sinful and rebellious world in such a manner, that he gave up his only-begotten Son for it, that it might not remain in its lost estate, but be restored to his blissful fellowship. Hence there is salvation in no other, nor any name given amongst men whereby we can be saved, but the name of Jesus. He is, according to his own asser-

tion, the way, the truth, and the life; no man cometh unto God the Father, but by him.

The way is therefore re-opened, and the foundation laid for our re-union with God through the divine Redeemer, in whom Deity is united with humanity. Therefore all who would gladly attain to fellowship with God, have now, both in life and death, an open way to it. They can enter into the holy place of exalted divine communion through Christ. (Heb. x. 19, 20.) But it is for us to come thither, and seek to enter in; and not content ourselves with speaking and boasting of this way, and only looking at it—no! but because Jesus is the way, the truth, and the life, we must come to the Father by this way, seek to walk in the truth in him who is the true light, until he becomes entirely our life, and we are thus again entirely united with God. For this end God gave us his Son to redeem us; this is the object of the whole work of redemption by Christ. In him the basis of our salvation is laid; upon this foundation alone must the whole edifice of our eternal felicity be erected. He that builds only opinions and rational inferences upon it, will find that his edifice will not stand the test of distress and death. The fire will destroy it all. But he that has received the forgiveness of sins in the atoning sacrifice of Jesus, and seeks with all fidelity to love his divine Redeemer and his neighbour with all his heart, that applies himself

with all earnestness to cleave to Jesus by prayer, and follows him in his virtuous, holy, and abstracted life, receiving all the strength necessary for this purpose from the fulness of grace in Jesus, through prayer; such a one has built his house upon a rock, and upon an immoveable foundation; its materials are silver, gold, and precious stones, and can endure the fire. (1 Cor. iii. 11—15.)

Scripture, experience, and even reason itself, teach me that man is no longer that which he was at his creation. If he were so, he would naturally incline to that which is good, even as he now naturally inclines to that which is evil. Experience teaches me the latter; hence I must infer that he is fallen from his original goodness. The holy Scriptures teach me the same thing, and I believe them. They instruct me with positive certainty, not only respecting the fall, but also the restoration of man through Christ.

These convictions, that man is no longer what he was at the creation—that God can no longer approach to fallen, sinful man, and that from his great love to him, in order to restore him, he has sent his Son into the world as a Mediator and Redeemer, that in him he might again draw near to man, and through him be re-united with him—and then the many benefits, and the particular favours which I have received through this divine Redeemer—these convictions af-

forded me in the darkest hours, and when assailed by a variety of doubts, during seasons of suffering and purification, such solid grounds as human reason, with all its scepticism, could never overthrow.

I have found that the way which God hath graciously pointed out and revealed to me in his word, and which Jesus has re-opened to me by his sufferings and death, *is the only means* of tranquillising and satisfying my soul, and of uniting me with God, in whom alone my immortal spirit can find repose, peace, and blessedness. In this faith, and upon this foundation, I am able calmly and boldly to contemplate a blessed eternity, and can confidently hope that my immortal spirit will enjoy eternal satisfaction and blessedness in the original source of its existence. In this faith, and on this basis, I expect, by God's grace, to end my course, to close my lips, and through my Redeemer's gracious assistance, boldly to enter upon the solemn realities of eternity.

CHAPTER XXIX.

Second visit to Tersteegen—Exalted state of mind—Depth of corruption discovered—Entire resignation.

It would perhaps have been well if I had finished the narrative of my life with the last chapter; for the further I enter into it, the more unintelligible will it be to those, who have had no experience of what I am about to relate: even to many pious individuals who are unacquainted with these paths, there is much that will appear incomprehensible and even offensive. For in every age there are only few whom the Lord pleases to lead in such a manner. The way by which an individual is led in the fellowship of the sufferings of Jesus to die to himself, and all things, is by no means common. It is the way by which we realise those words of the apostle, "Ye are dead, and your life is hid with Christ in God;" (Col. iii. 3;) and this requires on God's part a particular call, and

particular communications of his grace ; but on the part of the soul likewise great faithfulness in preserving these communications. The body, the church of Christ, consists of various members, and the temple of God is built of a great variety of stones and materials. Every member of the body is good and necessary. The hand or the foot ought not to be envious of the eye, although the construction of the eye is much more delicate than their construction. All the materials for the building of a beautiful temple cannot be alike, but if every one is fitted for its place, they will present a beauteous combination. Such is also the case in spiritual things. If every one faithfully obeys his calling, and applies the grace which the Lord bestows upon him for the purpose of his advancement, with all fidelity, he will be prepared by the Spirit of grace for that part of the spiritual body, or, which is the same thing, that place in the spiritual temple which is the best adapted for him,—he attains the object for which God has called him, and will be satisfied and blessed with the portion allotted to him.

During the summer of 1767, I again visited the worthy Tersteegen. On this journey I became acquainted with many friends from Solingen, Wald, Elberfeld, Barmer, &c., who all showed me much affection and friendship. Tersteegen, in particular, received me very kindly and cordially, and I spent a

week with him with great pleasure. For being quite open and confidential with him, he expressed an affection and heartfelt sympathy in all that regarded my state of mind, and the journey proved a great blessing to me.

At this time my state was very sublime. My spiritual part was so much separated from the senses, that it seemed to me as if two quite opposite beings were within me. The spiritual principle, the more room I gave it, and the more I sought to die to the sensible by the power of faith imparted to me, expanded itself more and more. The sensible or inferior part was frequently in a state of extraordinary suffering, whilst my spirit or superior part was elevated above all sufferings and accidental circumstances, and took a pleasure in seeing the former suffer. It even brought it into such straits, and reigned over it so entirely, that the latter, because neither pleasure nor support were afforded it, resigned itself up to mortification and death. In this way I thought I should be at length delivered from the sensible part, or at least keep it fettered in such a manner by the grace of faith, that it should no longer distress me. But in this I was much mistaken, and the ways by which the Lord led me, in order to render me entirely subordinate to him, were quite opposed to my ideas, as will afterwards be seen.

In reality, I have experienced nothing in my whole

life which may be called extraordinary. But if anything of the kind ever passed within me, it was when my faithful God forgave me all my sins in the atoning blood of my Redeemer, and translated me from a state of nature into a state of grace; yet on that occasion, also, I was perfectly conscious of myself, and therefore could not include these effects amongst those extraordinary things in which the individual is abstracted from his senses. In such things, to which also prophetic gifts and influences belong, there is great danger, and those to whom they are imparted, must be very watchful and circumspect, lest they fall a prey to spiritual pride. For if such individuals do not mistrust themselves, but regard all these revelations as divine—they are in danger of falling into every species of enthusiasm and fanaticism. No great value ought to be attached to such peculiarities. The path of faith, in which the individual commits himself entirely to his Redeemer, is the best, the royal path. Many, indeed, frequently enjoy in it especial divine communications, but they are of that kind, by which the person's faults, imperfections, and infirmities are more and more brought to light. These communications prove their divine origin by leading the soul to deny itself and everything else; by which the person is preserved from all spiritual loftiness, if he heartily seeks to follow in the footsteps of the meek and lowly Jesus.

These truths I know from vital experience ; for during my state of mind at that time, the remains of corruption were more and more revealed to me by these communications. I was also compelled painfully to experience, that self-love and usurpation, as soon as they cease to derive support from the sensible part, still find food in that which is spiritual. Here they are the most deeply-rooted and the most dangerous foes. They are a poison that insinuates itself everywhere. But everything within me was now called to a strict account, and divine grace, with its penetrating light, discovered this usurping, selfish principle even to the lowest depth of my soul. I attacked this enemy to the extent of the grace of God imparted to me. I could not possibly endure that it should rob God of his glory, and hence I sought to crucify and slay it in every possible manner. Self-love being thus divested of all support, appeared often to be dead ; but this was far from being the case—it was only the more deeply concealed, and caught in a subtle manner, to participate in everything of a spiritual nature. During the time when this life of self seemed to be dead, I had frequently seasons in which I could walk in innocence, so gently and loving before God, as if I had been no longer an inhabitant of this world ; but before I was aware, the selfish principle again manifested itself in such a manner as greatly to disturb and distress me.

On such occasions I placed myself in the presence of him, who had already been so victorious in me. I showed him the rust of corruption, and besought him to grant me grace and strength to overcome this enemy, which was so much opposed to him, my God and Saviour, and which everywhere threw impediments in the way; or, rather, that he himself would slay this deeply-rooted life of self.

But here a still clearer light rose upon me; for the Lord showed me, that all I did, all the strength and efforts I employed to slay this selfish principle, was nothing else than self-love and self-seeking, because in these attempts I did not look exclusively to the glory of God, but rather sought to make myself more pious, fair, and virtuous; and that the eradication of this corrupt principle was entirely and solely the work of God, the creature could not contribute to it in the least.

I now no longer knew what to say or do. I looked down into an abyss which was unfathomable. The Lord required that I should resign and offer myself up to him unconditionally and without reserve. I did so with all sincerity, in the most solemn tranquillity, not only once, but probably a hundred times. It was now whispered to me from the Lord's inward sanctuary, whether I would willingly submit to all that it might please God to make of me?—whether I would voluntarily endure in-

ward and outward destitution, and bear with heartfelt cheerfulness to be deprived of all that he had bestowed upon me?—whether I were willing to endure contradiction, contempt, and rejection from all those with whom I was united in the bonds of affection?—and whether I were willing and ready cordially to embrace affliction, reproach, and suffering, from within and without, and whatever might befall me? “Yes, my God!” was the reply; “if thou art only honoured and glorified, I will gladly resign and offer myself up to everything! Without reserve I yield myself up to all that it shall please thee to make of me in time and eternity! Yes, O my God! I give myself up to thee for the endurance of all thy will!”

When an individual has attained thus far—when God requires this sacrifice and it is rendered him, such a one, as I firmly believe, will never again turn aside from the Lord, even should he be obliged to walk during his whole life in paths of suffering and abandonment. The Lord supports him in the midst of every trial and temptation, and secretly holds him fast. Here that *sealing* might be said to take place, which prevents the believer from ever being able to fall out of the hands of God.

CHAPTER XXX.

Severe inward conflicts.

THIS entire surrender of myself took place in the spring of the year 1768, after which, for about a month, many especial blessings were imparted to me, and at the same time, a deeper insight into that which God required of me. The Lord discovered to me in particular, that all human efforts, even in co-operation with divine grace, were not able to slay that deeply-rooted principle of self-love and self-appropriation which pervades our whole being; that this was possible to God alone, and that he accomplished it without any co-operation of the soul, solely in the fellowship of the sufferings and death of Jesus. (Phil. iii. 10.) But the paths that lead to this, and the means which God employs, according to the particular or individual quality of every soul, remain hidden from the individual himself.

But now the time arrived, when the Lord thought fit to lead me by very different paths. I had to experience many severe trials, and was assailed by many grievous temptations. At the same time, I was gradually stripped of all the strength and peculiar graces which the Lord had conferred upon me, and thus divested of everything, was exposed to these various temptations and sufferings. It is not possible for me to describe everything that occurred to me in this state of severe affliction. It will suffice to mention only so much of it as is needful to encourage those whom it may please God to guide in this manner, that they may not despond, but patiently endure their sufferings, whilst seeing that their brethren have passed through similar afflictions, and that the Lord has at length delivered them out of them all.

I was now left entirely to myself. All the passions which I thought I had vanquished and slain, re-awoke in my soul, which was left a prey to the feelings of pride, haughtiness, lust, and other passions. This consciousness causes the soul indescribable suffering. The individual is obliged to see that the fair garment of his virtues, at which he had laboured for so many years, and which he believed to have been completed by the communications of especial and particular grace, is by degrees stripped off him, and rent without mercy. But this gives him such pain, that he uses every effort in praying, wrestling, and

striving to prevent this divestment, and to retain his beauteous robe. But no mercy is to be hoped for here. Inexorable justice demands all its own again. My soul was often in such a state from these painful feelings, that I roared—if I may use the expression—like a lioness robbed of her young. In short, the sufferings endured in this state are beyond expression. The soul no longer finds any relish or nourishment in the perusal of religious works or other pious exercises, and if the individual endeavours to force himself to find nourishment in them, it is often the case that he feels, on the contrary, such a repugnance to them as borders on disgust. Entire and unconditional passiveness and resignation to God are the only means of patiently passing through these painful and grievous paths.

I loved purity and chastity in the highest degree, and was pierced to the quick at being now forced to see and feel in my imagination the most unchaste and disgusting imagery, and feel the most dreadful temptations to impurity. At the commencement, when I could by no means resign myself to such a guidance, and wrestled and struggled for deliverance, it sometimes happened, when the feeling of my sufferings had risen to the highest pitch, that it pleased God to translate me, so to speak, all at once out of this hell into a paradise of peace, and into a state, than which I never felt any more

sublime. But after being thus placed in it, the Lord reproved me for my impatience and complaining, and it was at the same time whispered to me inwardly, that all I now suffered was nothing compared with those afflictions through which I had still to pass; and from the bottom of my soul I could reply, "Ah, Lord! I will gladly bear and suffer all, if I only do not sin against thee, if I shall not be overcome, and if I am only not displeasing to thee, O Lord! But I will rather die than sin, or act contrary to thy will." Such were the fundamental sentiments of my soul; but I received no assurance on the subject. Nothing remained for me but to suffer without support; since everything on which my soul might have reposed, was gradually taken away from me.

During this period I wrote to my dear friend Tersteegen, and laid before him all my sufferings and feelings. But he answered me not. Some months after, I wrote again, and begged him to inform me how I ought to act in my affliction. At the same time I mentioned to him, that I was resolved to visit him before the winter. I then received the following reply:—

"DEAR BROTHER,—I fraternally sympathise with your suffering state. All that you meet with in it—whether sufferings, temptations, or trials, from within

or without—receive passively and as sent from God. If you do so, I hope all will be well. I cannot recommend your coming hither. You will do best to remain at home.”

Short as this letter was, yet the sympathy of this godly and experienced man, which was expressed in it, not only cheered me at the time, but frequently afterwards, as often as I could call it to mind. It was the only sympathising feeling manifested towards me during the whole period of my affliction, or at least the only one which produced any effect upon me, and procured me any support.

CHAPTER XXXI.

Unpleasant events in business—Journey to Elberfeld—The author misjudged by his friends—Sufferings and resignation.

I MUST now return to the narrative of my outward circumstances, during this important period of my life.

Our manufactory increasing, my cousin and I removed about this time to a nobleman's mansion, which was at that period unoccupied. My cousin's brother-in-law, who, as aforesaid, had a half-share of the business, was a man who wished to cut a figure in the world ; hence he often urged us to send for some ribbon-looms from Barmen, that besides laces, we might also weave ribbons. The reason he gave, was, that he could not succeed at Frankfort with the sale of laces alone, because purchasers required both articles together. We had already a considerable stock of laces on hand, and because my cousin's bro-

ther-in-law did not keep his promise with respect to procuring materials, nor as to the sale of the manufactured article, we were placed in a state of no little anxiety. We stated this to him, and his reply was, that if we would resolve upon procuring ribbon-loom, he would be better able to succeed in Frankfort, and then hoped to be able to dispose of the whole stock. Neither my cousin nor myself had any desire to enter into his plan, because we were justly afraid of being involved in undertakings of too extensive a nature. However, he plied my cousin until the latter felt inclined to make a trial. He therefore spoke with me on the subject, and confessed that he was willing to undertake it. I told him I was opposed to it from being afraid of entering into extensive engagements ; but if he and his brother-in-law thought it was necessary, and that we could not carry on without this new undertaking, I left it to them to act in the matter as they thought for the best.

On this, my cousin resolved to travel to Elberfeld, and purchase a ribbon-loom. (This was a year previous to our removing to the mansion above mentioned, and while I was in a perfectly peaceful state of mind.) He did so, but was imposed upon, and it proved to be an old and very inferior loom. We possessed so little knowledge and insight into the structure of such a machine, that when it arrived, we did not even know how to put it together, much

less weave ribbon upon it. With much difficulty we at length set up the loom, but to fix it in such a manner as not to break a number of threads at every throw of the shuttle, was no easy matter for those who were so entirely ignorant. My cousin, however, attempted to work upon it; but after much fatigue and trouble, he could produce only about an ell in a whole day, which was at the same time so mangled, that it was utterly useless. After a fortnight's fruitless efforts, he gave up the work, and we looked upon it as a lost matter. Some days afterwards, I told my cousin that I would also make a trial, in order to see whether I could not set the loom a-going. This pleased him. I went, therefore, very slowly and considerately to work, and made a number of attempts, until I succeeded in putting the machine into such order, as to be able to weave a very good ribbon upon it. At the same time, I was grieved to see that my cousin felt dejected and pained, when he saw that I was able to do something, about which he had fruitlessly puzzled himself so long. He could not conceal the envy which this circumstance excited in him; but as I was at that time in a very contented state, and as it was not difficult for me to treat him always with meekness and affection, this spark could not at that time blaze up into a flame.

When his brother-in-law saw that the ribbon was

of good quality, he was highly pleased, and wished immediately to order two more ribbon-looms, which with much difficulty we prevented. But some time after, whilst on a journey through Gemärke and the neighbouring places, he ordered two such looms at Wichlinghausen, which arrived after our removal to the house above mentioned.

About this time I took a journey into the duchy of Berg, Elberfeld, and the vicinity, on which occasion I visited the christian friends there, as well as in Barmen, Lohlingen, and Wald. This was in the autumn of the same year in which my state had suffered such a change in the spring, and I was no longer the quiet, fervent, and communicative individual I had been. It is true, much friendship was shown me, and I received many proofs of kindness from several dear friends; but they could not comprehend why I looked so disturbed and afflicted. Could I have dissembled and accommodated myself to them, it would perhaps have fared better with me; but dissimulation for the sake of appearing pious was always repugnant to me. I could not, therefore, assume a different appearance. With several of these friends I was open-hearted, and disclosed to them my state. I expected they would have sympathised with me as brethren, and have treated me with affection; but I was wholly deceived. They regarded my state of mind in no other light than as

a deviation from God, and gave me many reproofs and admonitions which pained me much, without my being able to receive them as they wished. I took leave of them all with shame and grief. What my self-love suffered on this occasion is beyond all expression. Having placed everything at stake, in order to live exclusively for God, and to love Jesus and his people with my whole heart, and finding that I was now so put to the blush and slighted by all, occasioned me such painful feelings, that I could no longer endure to be with these friends.

The chief object of my journey, however, was to attain a greater insight into our business, and I was so fortunate as to meet with a ribbon-weaver at Elberfeld, who was inclined to instruct me. By this means I obtained such a knowledge of the business, that I was able afterwards to do without any assistance. Being once placed in this species of occupation, and having no other way open for maintaining myself in the world, I regarded it as my duty to aid in carrying it on, and to use every effort in promoting it. During the period of mental suffering, I could also employ my reasoning powers unobstructedly in outward things; but I could not use them at all in those that are spiritual: with respect to the latter, all was obscure, dark, and confused. It even afforded me great relief, when I could turn my thoughts to outward things. For

since I was no longer able to counsel or help myself, with reference to my inward state, I was obliged, as much as I was able, to yield myself up passively to everything. Nor can a soul in such a state act otherwise; for it is all the Lord's way, who is desirous of perfecting the individual through sufferings, and thus conform him to his image. All that the man himself undertakes, even of what is good, does not succeed, but he only makes his sufferings the greater by it, and is put to shame with all his efforts.

It was after my return from this journey, that we removed to the mansion already alluded to; the two new looms also arrived shortly after. We fixed them up in such a manner, that I could weave very good ribbon upon them. We then employed young people to learn the business, and all seemed outwardly to prosper. But not a day passed without a variety of severe trials and sufferings, to which my cousin contributed not a little. For he became daily more perverse towards me, and at the same time so attached to his sister and brother-in-law, that he even required me to be particularly intimate with no one else. If I showed friendship to any one, especially to my relatives, or when any one visited me from my father's house, which very rarely happened, he scarcely spoke to me for a week together, except when absolutely

necessary. He had an unhappy temper, and grace did not find room enough in him to enable him to master it.

CHAPTER XXXII.

Intercourse with a friend in a different state, and its consequences—Unpleasantness in business and dissolution of partnership.

THE reader must not take it amiss that I am rather prolix in relating the circumstances of my outward life. It is necessary, because outward events have so much influence on the inward history of the heart, as well as that, otherwise, many things would appear unconnected and remain obscure. Thus, for instance, without a connected relation of the outward events that befel me, I should be unable clearly to show what induced me to go to America. I therefore resume the thread of my narrative.

There dwelt in our village a christian friend, with whom I lived on a very intimate and affectionate footing. He was also a distant relative by marriage. He had been awakened in Holland, from whence he

had returned a few years before, and was residing with his sister. We soon became acquainted, and because he was fond of a quiet and solitary life, we became attached to each other. He often accompanied me into the wood, or other solitary places, and was much captivated by my retired and introverted mode of life, and was himself also gradually placed by the Lord in a state of inwardness. This friend had a capital sufficient to enable him to live upon the interest, and he rented a couple of rooms of his brother-in-law's, where he led a retired life. We were tolerably closely united together in the Lord, which connexion, however, greatly declined, when I appeared to him so afflicted, disturbed, and uncollected. He could not bear our removal to the large mansion, and our entering so deeply into worldly affairs. This friend caused me much affliction. Whenever he visited me, or I him, I might always prepare myself for a multitude of reproofs. He sought by every means to convince me that I had fallen away from God, and loved the world again; for, said he, it was evident that I was disturbed with worldly cares; that I ought to reflect in what a tranquil and peaceful frame I had been a year before, and how very different it was from my present state. I replied, that I was well aware of all that, and suffered so much on account of it, that I often knew not what to do in consequence of my distress; but that it was not in

my power to alter it ; that he must have patience with me, and bear with me as he found me ; that I could, however, assure him, that everything which had even only the appearance of worldly greatness was nothing but grief and sorrow to me ; but that finding myself placed in this occupation, I regarded it as my duty to attend to it with all possible fidelity, and that without occupation, I could not possibly endure my sufferings. But this friend did not suffer himself to be convinced ; it was evident to him that I had gone astray from God, and he looked upon me as good as lost.

He came to me once, and urged me very seriously to give up the whole business. I asked him how I was to support myself in that case, and what I ought then to undertake ? On this point he could give me no immediate reply. But some days after, he came to me in the enthusiasm of his feelings, and said, that if I would give up my business, he would divide his income with me ; we might then live together, and so limit ourselves as to have enough for both to live upon from it. I answered, that we should then be often in the greatest distress, particularly as it regarded myself, because we could not both exist upon it ; that he made this offer from an enthusiastic feeling which would soon evaporate ; and if it were once to be carried into effect, it would cause a number of difficulties. But that since the Lord had given me

understanding and ability to earn my bread by the labour of my hands, I could not accept anything of the kind from him. However, he did not cease urging me to give up business, because it was the principal cause of my losing the good I previously possessed. I often represented to him, that he was well aware how I had commenced this undertaking, at first, only that I might pass quietly through the world as a godly man ; and that it was also known to him, that I was not to blame for its having become more extensive. I therefore could not believe otherwise, than that God had given me this occupation, particularly as he had bestowed so many favours upon me in it. Hence I was willing faithfully to continue it as long as it should please the Lord, and do all that my duty required of me. But if it should please God to detach me from it, or to suffer it to fall into utter decay, I hoped he would graciously enable me to resign myself willingly to his divine arrangements. But my friend continued dissatisfied with all that I advanced.

Seeing that his urgent solicitations produced likewise no effect upon me, he began to press me to visit Tersteegen, since he believed that the latter would have a better insight into my state, and advise me otherwise. I therefore wrote to Tersteegen, and unfolded to him my whole mind, and likewise mentioned the sufferings which my friend occasioned me,

as also that he urged me to visit Tersteegen, which it was therefore my intention to do in the autumn. To this letter he did not reply himself, but informed me by another friend, that it would be better if I remained at home. This was all the reply I received from him; I showed it to my friend, who said respecting it, that Tersteegen had doubtless replied so briefly, and declined my visit, because he perceived that he could do nothing with me! I was obliged to be silent, take up my cross, and follow the Lord Jesus.

I was as little able to give up this friend, as he to part with me, although we did not harmonise with each other, and though a continual opposition of sentiment manifested itself at every interview. Nor could it scarcely have been otherwise, for our states were very different. At this time he was in a state of great fervour and spiritual enjoyment, which was very apparent to me, having been in it myself. I was, therefore, able, notwithstanding my darkness and my afflicted and wretched state of mind, to perceive many failings in him, which I could never have ventured to entertain whilst in the same state. But he yielded to them without offering any resistance. He clung very closely to any particular communications of grace he received, and often manifested more fervour on such occasions than it appeared to me he really possessed. And though the latter had been the

case, yet it was not well that he showed so much of it, and thought the better of himself for it. By this he rendered it apparent that his spiritual pride had already reached a tolerable height, and I began to fear a dangerous result. At the time when God granted me similar favours, I never ventured to exhibit them in such a manner; but whenever the slightest wish occurred to me to present a religious appearance, or outwardly manifest what I experienced within, I felt the severest reproofs and corrections of conscience. But in my friend, I saw the contrary of this, and often thought that unless he were led through trials and humiliations, all would not end well. I also often clearly perceived, that his zeal in reproofing me, did not always proceed from a pure source; but that he frequently wished to act the master over me. The presentiments which I had respecting him were unhappily verified; for some years afterwards, he committed a grievous fault, from which he was scarcely able to recover himself.

In the beginning of the year 1769, our disagreement rose to its height. He would now have nothing more to do with me; we were as good as separated, and I was obliged to let the matter take its course. In January I wrote once more to Tersteegen, and because my friend was known to him and all the friends in those parts, and beloved by them, from having several times visited them, I gave the worthy man

some particulars of our disagreement, and of what had transpired between us, requesting him to settle the difference, and inform me what I was to do under the circumstances. Towards the end of February, only about a month before Tersteegen's dissolution, I received from him a brief reply, which was in substance as follows :—

“ DEAR BROTHER,—I regard it as good for you to have some employment, but still you must frequently keep yourself calm and passive in the Lord's presence. Your state of mind is very different from that of brother M. You must bear with him, and he with you, and when one cannot act like the other, you must have brotherly patience with each other.” At the conclusion he adds, “ Love and bear with one another. Let each esteem the other more highly than himself, and all will be well.”

In the spring, after Tersteegen's decease, I felt inclined once more to visit the friends and brethren in those parts. But what a journey was that ! The humiliation I everywhere met with from them made me as timid as a chased hind, and so ashamed, that I could have hid myself in a desert from them. They were already in part prejudiced against me, and my friend had made them think still worse of me.

And since I could not dissemble, but showed myself such as I was, my state being of such a nature that he who had no experience of it could not possibly be satisfied with me, it naturally followed, that by personal intercourse, the friends were the more confirmed in their bad opinion of me, and that I received nothing from them but admonitions and reproofs. But it followed quite as naturally, that from their ignorance of my real state, I could not possibly apply to myself either their censure or advice. Hence, wherever I came, there was nothing but misunderstanding, displeasure, and dissatisfaction with me, which so pained me to the heart, that the mere idea of visiting any one redoubled my sufferings; and my confusion was so great, that I concealed myself as much as possible, to avoid new humiliations. Therefore, instead of deriving encouragement from this journey, I only rendered the burthen heavier, and was obliged to return home more comfortless than I left it.

During this period, I always went, when the weather was fine, to the rocky height I have already mentioned, where the Lord had granted me so many favours, and where in the most solemn serenity I had entirely offered up myself to him, that he might do with me, in time and eternity, according to his good pleasure. This little wood still continued the place to which I frequently took a walk, but in-

stead of finding happiness, accumulated trials awaited me, so that I thought I could withstand them no longer. Hence, being unable to find consolation or aid, either in heaven or on earth, nothing remained for me but to give myself up as I was. At this place, also, I frequently repeated the sacrifice, however deeply plunged in sorrow; and for this place I have always retained a predilection, so that it grieved me, on my return from America, to see the wood cut down, and the soil made arable. Still I frequently wandered to these heights, and every time felt filially grateful for the Lord's singular yet kind and salutary dealings with me. Such retrospects frequently afford the pilgrim blissful moments.

In our business there was also much to suffer; and when I ventured to take a look at the future, I saw nothing but trials and afflictions before me. The business having now become extensive, much expense and outlay were necessary to keep it in a train. But my cousin's brother-in-law, who had engaged to purchase all the materials for us, and to dispose of our manufactures, mostly left us so short, that I was led to imagine he intended to make us weary of the matter, for the purpose of getting possession of the manufactory himself. When my cousin and myself, which frequently happened, were dissatisfied with his mode of acting, and when I made such observations to my cou-

sin, as clearly showed that the result would be painful, he sided with me for a time against his brother-in-law. As we could easily perceive that the latter could not duly attend to our affairs, having a business of his own, we considered what was best to be done in the matter, and came to the conclusion to take a fourth partner, who should undertake the purchase of the materials, and the disposal of the manufactured articles in conjunction with his brother-in-law, who should divide with him his half-share, so as each to have a quarter. The partner we had in view was still unmarried, and equally nearly related to both of us; and as his father was the most affluent man in the place, we thought he would be a very suitable person, particularly as we had heard that his father wished to see him settled in business. We therefore did not doubt that when we informed him of our plan, he would make no difficulty in agreeing to it.

Having thus settled the matter between us, it was necessary to induce the brother-in-law to agree to it. My cousin undertook this, and went accordingly to him. But on his return, I immediately perceived that he had not only not succeeded, but that his brother-in-law had even produced an entire change of sentiment in him, so that he was now opposed to the project. But to me he merely said, that his brother-in-law would not enter into the plan, and that for his part, he also thought it best to continue the

manufactory as before. Any further representations on my part would only have been unavailing ; I therefore accommodated myself to everything as well as I was able, and committed the matter to the divine direction, though my prospects with reference to my future support were melancholy and gloomy.

Although my cousin possessed much affection for me, yet he felt an extraordinary attachment to his sister and her children, and through them to his brother-in-law ; hence it was that the latter could make of him what he pleased. It was therefore natural that he should prefer his advantage to mine, and seek the prosperity of his relatives, and their advancement in the world.* Still he was a lover of good things, and these were weaknesses which were still to be purged away. In after life, he experienced this in a variety of ways. Yet to this hour we continue friends, and the bond of our friendship and affection has not been dissolved, notwithstanding these events.

* However, he not only entirely failed in this, but incurred much unpleasantness besides. Whilst I was in America, he gave up the manufactory, and was quite at variance with his brother-in-law. These difficulties continued even after my return ; and his brother-in-law having no real knowledge of the business, it almost entirely failed, whilst others who had commenced the same species of manufacture there, succeeded, and continued to prosper in it.

In the autumn of the same year, the father of the young man whom we had intended to take into partnership came to our house to view the establishment. After having inspected everything, and conversed with me in particular respecting it, he said, that if we would take his son into the business, he would advance three thousand dollars for three years without interest, and would also furnish other sums for the success of the manufactory if requisite. At this time he knew nothing of what my cousin and myself had concerted together upon this subject. I replied that we two had agreed to take his son into partnership; but because my cousin's brother-in-law was against it, and had gained over the other to his side, our plan had been frustrated; that I would inform them of his offer, but had little hopes that it would be accepted, particularly by my cousin's brother-in-law. On this he declared, that if the two others would not agree to it, he would give me the sum above mentioned, with any other necessary advances, if I would enter into partnership with his son, and carry on the business with him alone.

Being aware that my cousin often felt the pressure of the connexion with his brother-in-law, I had hopes that this offer, which was very agreeable to me would meet his approval; but was apprehensive that even then, if his brother-in-law were of a different opinion, his attachment to him would again destroy

everything. And as I feared, so it happened. We sent for his brother-in-law to come to us. After hearing my statement, he said that such an offer was certainly not to be entirely rejected; but that he must first take it into consideration. I now foresaw how the affair would terminate. He also prejudiced my cousin against it, and brought him over to his views. Therefore, a few days after, the latter told me that his brother-in-law would not consent to take the young man into partnership, and it was also his opinion that the business should be carried on as before. I could consequently do nothing more in the matter. Had my cousin been of my sentiments, and if we had insisted upon the arrangement, he would have been obliged to have assented to it; for we had no written agreement, and everything was transacted in reliance upon good faith. Now, as he did not keep his promise, and as we were during the greater part of the time in difficulties through his fault, in not disposing of the articles prepared, and procuring the raw material, he would have been obliged, had we insisted, to agree to it, or cease to be a partner. But there was now a disagreement amongst us, and the future presented to my mind nothing but unpleasantness and painful circumstances which would constantly attend our business.

I went, however, to the individual above-mentioned, who had made the generous offer, and told him, that

we could come to no agreement, because my cousin and his brother-in-law were entirely opposed to it. He then referred to the offer he had made me, if I felt inclined to commence the same business with his son ; and repeated that what he had then promised, he was still willing to perform. I confessed that I felt inclined to accept the offer, because I easily perceived that my present connexion would not be of long continuance ; and that in the event of leaving the latter, I must depend entirely upon his word. He replied that I might firmly rely upon it. Being sincere in all my words and actions, I thought that others were so too ; hence I resolved, after some reflection, to enter upon this new connexion ; but my confidence in man deceived me this time, as it had often done before ; the particulars of which I will now relate.

Having settled with my cousin and his brother-in-law concerning the manufactory, and given up all that belonged to it, I removed to my father's house, with the intention of commencing business with my new partner. I went, therefore, to his father to procure a written agreement, and arrange everything minutely beforehand. But the latter had now many scruples, laid a variety of difficulties in the way, and, to be brief, drew back, so that in the end the fine project terminated in nothing. I therefore saw myself placed in a most unpleasant situation, nor can I

describe the feelings which now assailed me. They were the more painful, because I had not even the comfort of believing and being convinced that it was the path of divine Providence. My sufferings also had so oppressed and stupified me, and darkness so pervaded my soul, that my spirit could not elevate itself to such a consoling idea. However, I resigned myself to everything as well and as passively as I was able. At that time it might justly have been said to me, "What I do, thou knowest not now, but thou shalt know hereafter." (John xiii. 7.) This I have indeed experienced, and I now in particular recognise with thankfulness and adoration, that all this was wisely and kindly ordered by divine Providence on my behalf.

CHAPTER XXXIII.

State of inactivity—Continuance of humiliations and sufferings—Mistaken judgment of the author's friends—His whole endeavour is to live to God.

WHEN my father saw that the new connexion ended in nothing, and that I was thus entirely without employment, he was much displeased, and told me "that I was of no use in the world, for nothing succeeded that I undertook;" and asked, "what I thought would at length become of me?" I requested him to have patience with me, and permit me for the time to pass the winter in his house. Not being able with propriety to refuse the request, he consented to it.

After further reflection upon my situation, and what steps were to be taken in it, it occurred to me, that it might be the best for me if I were to remove to Barmen, and carry on the making of lace there, since my property was not sufficient to establish a business

in that line. I expected that this would afford me a maintenance, the more so, because at that period this species of work was not generally known. At the same time I was willing to endure all suffering patiently, in the hope that God, who is faithful, would at length do all things well with me. But when I thought of what the friends there would think of me, and how they would receive me, I saw nothing but shame and suffering before me. After long reflection and deliberation, I resolved to write to a friend there, and state my situation to him as far as it was practicable. I did so, but the answer I received was of such a nature as necessarily divested me of all desire to go thither. It was as follows:—

“DEAR BROTHER—It is now a long time since I received so strange a letter as your ast. God will perhaps still save your soul. The Lord Jesus forcibly exclaims to each of us, ‘What does it profit a man if he gain the whole world, and lose his own soul?’ O my dear brother, much rather be poor, and rich towards God, than rich in the world and poor with respect to God. These things cannot exist together, or else Jesus would have taught his disciples a different doctrine. O let us not so pervert the words of Jesus, as to wish to waste all our powers of body and soul on such wretched things! God has entrusted you with such a talent of wisdom, un-

derstanding, and so many noble mental qualifications, and you wish to devote them to the spirit of the world! O brother, reflect! you grieve God, and his children by it; and, I must tell you, that many have often thought and spoken of you with deep regret, because they saw that you are again hastening rapidly to Sodom, where only death and hell are to be found. O my dear brother! do not sell your soul for a mess of pottage! O no! an angel still takes you by the hand, and exclaims, 'Hasten, and deliver thy soul!' For this purpose I cordially wish you an obedient heart, and that you may listen more attentively to the Lord's voice. If you wish to know how you ought obediently to yield yourself to it, pray with the pious psalmist, 'Teach me thy will, O Lord!' Follow no longer self-will and nature; they deceive us, even as you are already enough deceived. Pity your own soul for having acted thus! Let us not trust to any evil spirit that wishes to render us men of the world. Satan has a thousand times sought to sift me with offering to give me this and that, if I would fall down and worship him; and that such and such a one acted in the same manner, who also expected to go to heaven. And, if I had listened to him, Satan would have pointed others to my example, and I should thus have become the means of turning others back again to the world and sin. Thus it is, that we seduce others also by our un-

christian walk. Let us do so no longer, or we shall eventually be forced to hear—‘O thou seducer of my people!’ The Lord Jesus preserve us from it, and enlighten our eyes to discover the deceiver, who would so gladly devour our souls! O let us close our eyes against the world and its vanities! We have long enough laboured for them. Let us spend the few moments we have still to live in the present state entirely for God. Perhaps they will soon be fled! And how disgraceful it is to us, that we should remain so far behind, whilst others near us are so far advanced, whom we have often grieved by our unfaithful walk, and pressed from them many sighs. O let us appoint a fast to humble ourselves before God and man, and ask forgiveness, where we have caused offence! By so doing we shall give God the glory, and his children, whom we have offended, will then be excited to thanksgiving and praise, that God has restored such a wandering sheep.”

I sent a copy of this letter to brother W., and accompanied it with the following lines:—

“I heartily thank brother L. for his well-meant and kind admonition, which I have already expressed in a short letter to him. I sincerely acknowledge myself guilty of everything, and ask forgiveness for Jesus’ sake, wherever I have given offence. But it is out of my power actively to amend my faults, and in

this respect, patience must be exercised towards me, even as God has patience with us all. What is particularly painful to me, is, that I set a bad example to others. I cannot, however, help this ; it must therefore not be followed. It has always been my sincere intention and endeavour to commit myself unreservedly to God ; and since I am unable to put away the evil, he must do it, and grant me that which is good, according to his good pleasure, as well as reproduce it in those whom I have involuntarily grieved and offended.

“In other respects, the spirit of the world has been hitherto unfavourable to me, and as it would appear, will continue to be so. If my success in the world is to go on as it does at present, it will not be long before I shall be found to beg my bread from door to door. But I confidently trust in God, and he will do all things well. He shall continue to be my portion and deliverer, both here and for ever.

“And now, my dear brother, in order to give you my sentiments with respect to outward things, I thought, that being well acquainted with machines for making laces, and almost able to make them myself, as also that they are at present not generally known, if I removed to Barmen, I could there maintain myself as a poor pilgrim by such a species of employment. Such was my idea, but on receiving the above letter, I thought no more of it. But I said

within myself, 'Whither must I now direct my steps? I am an offence to dear friends whom I would not willingly grieve.' Many thoughts occurred to me in my distress. At length my resolution was confirmed to proceed, with God's help, from hence to Holland, then perhaps to England, and from thence possibly even to North America. This resolution will, if it please God, be carried into effect in a few days.

"I heartily greet you, my dear brother, and commend myself to your affectionate remembrance before the Lord. If we do not see each other again here below, I hope that we shall meet eventually in a happy eternity."

Freudenberg, March 10, 1770.

The state of my mind during this period was such that I was unable to help myself or to reflect on what was best to be done. All the friends regarded me as one who had backslidden from the Lord, and gave me counsel and instruction of which I could receive very little, however much I desired to profit by their admonitions. Nothing was left me on which I could lean. My state was hard, and I found myself forsaken on every side. I was often obliged to regard myself as one who hangs between heaven and earth, and has not a single support left, either above or below. When the idea occurred to me that I had backslidden from the Lord, and I yielded to it in

any measure, I experienced such dreadful sufferings as though I were in hell. My state then bordered on madness, because I could not assist myself in any respect. If I was unwilling patiently and passively to bear the sufferings which beset me, and exerted my powers to overcome them, I fell into a state which was not much better. But if I patiently and passively yielded up to everything, and resigned myself to suffering, my state was then tolerable, and I was able to endure it all. If I had only had a friend who would have shown me sympathy and affection, and who regarded the way in which I was led as the path in which the Lord was guiding me, and had advised me like a brother, patiently and resignedly to submit to the will of God in every painful trial and suffering—O! this would have been indeed a friend, who would have poured balm into my wounds! But it did not please the Lord to give me such a one. The friends who previously knew me, and who observed me in my present state and mode of acting, could not well judge otherwise of me than they did. It was natural that my whole situation and deportment should appear to them as if I had backslidden from God, when comparing my former state of light and cheerfulness, gifts and virtues, with which I abounded, with my subsequent grievous and dejected state, devoid of all light and animation. Much experience and great discernment are requisite to ascertain the

true condition of such an individual, and to advise him as circumstances may require. Happy is the soul that possesses in such a state an experienced friend! How often did I say to myself, "Ah, if the worthy Tersteegen were now alive he would not reject me, but would kindly receive me, however wretched I might be!" But this support was torn from me by his departure out of this world.

I myself saw clearly that I was full of faults and infirmities, and no longer possessed anything that was good. But my efforts, my prayers and supplications to the Redeemer to aid me and to grant me grace and strength to walk acceptably before him, seemed all in vain. In all that I did, in everything to which I did not passively submit, I found not only no support, but my sufferings only increased the more. I was therefore obliged to give myself up to them, because I could no longer swim against the stream, and the sufferings of my soul carried me away like a torrent from one deep to another. Ah, what torment for a soul that had endeavoured with all its powers to live solely for God, to perceive itself at such a distance from him! The individual at length loses all hope of again viewing his gracious, lovely, and peaceful countenance.

CHAPTER XXXIV.

The author's remarks on his afflicted state—Resolves to go to North America—Travels to Rotterdam and London—Voyage to Philadelphia.

BEFORE I proceed, I find it necessary to remark, that I was not guilty of any faults and infirmities which would be generally regarded as sinful—from such the Lord preserved me. But because the good which God had bestowed on me was withdrawn, and my life therefore possessed no distinguishing virtues or piety, my actions appeared to my pious friends as those of a man of the world, and, consequently, my efforts to procure a sufficient maintenance necessarily seemed in their eyes a striving after riches and respectability in the world. Besides this, as I could no longer converse with them in a cordial manner upon godliness, and they were unacquainted with my inward state, it was quite natural for them to regard me as one who had entirely backslidden, and returned

to the world, and that their love for me should diminish. Of all this I was well aware, and felt it painfully, but I could not alter it in any respect.

I do not however believe that the Lord will ever permit a soul that has so entirely resigned itself to him to fall into actual sin. For, although it often appears to the individual as if he were committing sin, yet such is not the case, for his conscience does not accuse him. At the same time he becomes gradually convinced that he cannot be, or act, otherwise than he is, or acts. He feels himself divested of all the grace previously bestowed, and entirely destitute of all power with which he had formerly resisted the evil, and suppressed and held captive the passions; all the latter awake anew in the soul, and threaten to maintain their dominion more than ever; but all they can effect in this state is to induce us to humble ourselves entirely under God and our Redeemer. Nay, everything brings us at length humbly to confess that God in Jesus is alone good, and that all that the creature has and is, is evil and nothing. Here God first duly receives all the glory; and in order to produce this real humble state of soul, the Redeemer employs even the sins, infirmities, and weaknesses, which still remain in the individual. He makes use of poison as a salutary medicine for the real health of the soul. *All* things must work together for good to them that love God.

Where the Lord has bestowed great strength and special grace, it is necessary that they should be succeeded by great humiliations, otherwise the soul would not become entirely subject to the Lord, but be proud of the consciousness of its ability, and the view of its virtues, and think highly of itself on account of the strength and grace imparted to it. It is true that the individual is willing in such a state to be humble ; for he clearly sees that all comes from the Lord. But, as clearly as this may be seen, and as willing as we may be to be humble, yet God shows us in his light, that without affliction and humiliation, pride, loftiness, and self-conceit would remain in the soul, and that self-love would appropriate to itself all that is good. God even gives the individual to see that after receiving such favours, he would gradually ascend, like Lucifer, to such a height of pride and self-complacency, that the Lord would be at length compelled to let him go, unless he, at the same time, impended over him great humiliations, death, and judgment ; and then the man's fate, like that of the fallen spirit, would be almost irrecoverable. These are truths founded on experience, but which can only be known by experience.

I now return to the history of my outward life.

My business had been taken out of my hands against my will, and although I made great efforts during the whole of the winter to obtain employ-

ment, I could nowhere succeed, and all my labour was in vain. Nor could I remain any longer in my father's house. He loaded me with reproaches, and said, "I might now see to it how I made my way through the world, since I was old enough to care for myself." I was therefore obliged to resolve upon something, be it what it would. After much reflection and consideration, the idea at last appeared the most feasible, that North America was, perhaps, the place where I should find a maintenance. I should there be free from every connexion, and be able to wait and see what the Lord would be finally pleased to make of me. On expressing my inclination to proceed thither to my father, he asked me if I intended to go to a country where every vagabond went? I was therefore on my guard about saying anything further to him. Some time after, I told him that I proposed going to Holland, for that I thought I should there find an opportunity of gaining a subsistence. To this he had nothing to object, and only said, "I ought to know what was best for me." Nothing further passed upon the subject. My parents and sisters were concerned and perplexed on my account, and would have preferred my remaining and pursuing some business at home; but because there was no prospect of obtaining employment, they resigned me to God and my fate.

In the beginning of March, 1770, I packed up my

luggage and sent it to Cologne, and on the 13th of that month, after taking a cordial leave of the family, I recommenced my wanderings, commended my friends and relatives to the Lord, myself to his protection and guidance, and proceeded towards Holland. My resolution to go to America was, however, not so firmly fixed, that I would not have preferred some other provision, if on the way any other door had been opened.

With this intention, I took first of all the route to Rotterdam, where I arrived in safety, and resided a fortnight. Although I was well aware that friends were dwelling there, whom I knew by name, yet, from too great timidity, I did not venture to seek them out. For if they had treated me harshly, or not given me a kind reception, it would have increased the burden of my sorrows, and I had already almost more than I could bear. Seeing nothing more that was good in me, and it being impossible for me to speak much of godliness, I was so ashamed and grieved that I could not endure it, especially when with christian friends, who expected from me what I could not give. At such times I so painfully felt my poverty and destitution of all that is good, and this feeling placed me in such an abashed, oppressed, and painful situation, that I would gladly have hid myself in a desert; I therefore kept myself as much concealed as possible from all friends, and particularly

from those that knew me, or had heard of me. How painful and poignant these sufferings are is known only to those whom God has caused to pass through them. Could I have met with some one who was acquainted with my state, and who would have affectionately sympathised with my sorrows, O I should certainly not have fled from such a friend, nor have been ashamed or timid before him; on the contrary, my heart would have poured itself out into his bosom; but such a support, or so sweet a refreshment, was not afforded me.

Finding no resting-place in Rotterdam, I travelled to Helvoetsluys, and sailed from thence in the English packet-boat to Harwich. I there took my place in the stage-coach, and travelled to London. Everything cost much money, which I was obliged to expend without the smallest prospect of earning anything. Occasionally I felt great anxiety on this account; but it often seemed to me as if it were necessary for me to be reduced to poverty and feel its oppression. Therefore, since this was to be my lot, I willingly gave my money wherever it was demanded. Being ignorant of the language, I was the more exposed to imposition and extortion from those who well knew how to profit by this circumstance, and who cheated wherever they could. On our arrival in London, a Jew came to the coach, who spoke German. I asked him to show me a good inn, and he conducted

me to a lodging, whither he also brought my luggage, but demanded an immoderate sum for this piece of service.

I remained in London about two months, and looked about me a little at first to see if I could meet with some employment by which I could maintain myself, but my efforts were fruitless. To say the truth, I did not take any particular pains to obtain a situation, because the inclination to proceed to America now preponderated. But there was not for some time any opportunity of going thither; for the quarrel respecting the stamp-act having already existed for some years, which four years afterwards broke out into a flame, and the Americans having resolved to receive no more English goods, there were no cargoes to be obtained, and it was very seldom that an opportunity could be met with. I went daily to the Exchange, to see if there were any vessels advertised for Philadelphia, but for a long time in vain.

Being obliged to pass the best time of the year in London, I often went into the country, as well as into the city, to see what was remarkable. On going out of town on the Sunday, I always found a man standing upon a table in the open air, who preached to the people that assembled round him. I mingled with them and listened awhile, but understood little of what he said, being ignorant of the language. But as far as I could understand, he mostly chose awaken.

ing subjects for his texts, as, for instance, "O Jerusalem, Jerusalem ! how often would I have gathered thee," &c. Many listened devoutly, but others laughed and mocked at him. I had afterwards more intercourse with field-preachers, and learnt that they were methodist ministers whose discourses I had attended in the open air.

Meanwhile I ardently longed for the departure of some vessel for America, that I might leave London. At length, after many fruitless journeys to the Exchange, I learned that a vessel was laid on for Philadelphia. I therefore went to the captain and agreed for my passage, which, as customary, I immediately paid beforehand.

We went on board in the beginning of June, and soon after set sail. We had an uncommonly long voyage, for it lasted eleven weeks, and we did not arrive in Philadelphia till August. The reason of this was, that the captain kept a due west course. For because it was in the summer, when easterly winds might be expected, he thought to arrive the sooner by bearing directly for it ; but he found himself grievously mistaken. Most vessels sailing to America, take a circuitous course, and proceed southward until they fall in with the trade-winds, which are always easterly. With these winds they come very near the American coast, and then sail northward as far as the latitude of their destination.

Though this course is much about, yet there is greater certainty of a favourable wind than by keeping on in a straight line. It being summer, we had not, indeed, any storms to encounter, but there was no want of other unpleasantnesses. Our captain had never been this voyage, and was therefore very unacquainted with the currents, which, at certain times, impede the progress of the vessel to the coast. According to his log-reckoning, after being eight weeks at sea, he thought we were off the coast ; but he had not taken the currents into account, which, with all our tacking, having scarcely once had a favourable wind, had much retarded the vessel.

There were upwards of twenty passengers on board the vessel, amongst whom were a colonel and eight lieutenants, about to join their regiments in America, on account of the disturbances there. The colonel was a pious man, but in other respects a man of lofty ideas, which he manifested in his conduct, and entered into conversation with no one. In the morning, on leaving his cabin, he bowed to us all, and said, " Good morning !" but during the whole day spoke to no one, except occasionally a little with the captain. In the evening he wished us a good night in the same manner. The lieutenants were wild, dissipated, and ungodly young men. The captain, in daily expectation of seeing land, made no discrimination in the rations of food and liquor for the

passengers and the crew. But he having miscalculated so grossly, and the voyage continuing so long, our stock of provisions was almost exhausted ; so that at last all economising would have been in vain, had we not learnt where we really were from another vessel, but scarcely in time to prevent us from dying of hunger. This vessel was sailing before the wind, and seemed to have come from America. We made her a signal to wait for us, and set all sail to reach her. When near enough to be understood, our captain asked the captain of the other vessel how long it was since he had left the American coast ? The answer was, a week previous, with a fair wind, and that we were at present in such a latitude and longitude. We were all in great consternation at this news, because the stock of provisions was so low. Our captain asked the other whether he would let him have some water and provisions ? But he began to curse at him, and asked why he had not sufficiently provided himself ? On which he set all sail, and continued his voyage. We were now in a very perplexing situation. Our stock was only sufficient for a few days, except a small quantity of biscuit. The worst was, that in examining the water-casks, only one cask of water remained. Hence it was dealt out very sparingly, and each received only a pint daily, with some biscuit and a little meat at noon.

Meanwhile the wind continued contrary, and the

distress was great. The colonel was now our chaplain. He took the English prayer-book, and read prayers to us, at which all were obliged to attend. I listened with the rest, although I understood little of it, and knelt down when the rest did, during prayer. Here I again saw what distress can effect. The lieutenants, who had before been so dissolute, wild, and turbulent, and would neither believe in God, heaven, or hell, were now like lambs ; when it appeared that they must die of hunger, they wished to be religious again.

We were nearly a week in this state, and our water was almost all consumed, which was a very distressing circumstance. One morning a storm arose. We made every preparation for catching the water, if rain should fall. The storm was very violent, and was accompanied by an abundance of rain, so that we filled a cask with it. As the wind changed with the storm, and became favourable, we were all in good spirits again. In a few days we perceived a vessel before the wind, which seemed to be steering the same course with ourselves. We set all sail, and reached her towards noon. We found that she was from Lisbon, with a cargo of wine, destined also for Philadelphia. Our captain requested a few casks of wine and some provisions, promising to pay for them in Philadelphia. This was immediately granted and sent on board. But as we saw land three days after, and anchored in

the evening at the mouth of the Delaware, I wished that we had never come near the vessel. For much of the wine being left, which was distributed amongst the passengers, the night was spent in a disorderly manner, and the lieutenants, in particular, welcomed the land with copious libations. They became intoxicated, fought, and scuffled together till morning, and swore and cursed at each other in a horrible manner. That night was the most painful I had spent on the passage; but amidst all the noise, I thanked God with heartfelt emotion for having brought me so near the end of my voyage, and for his gracious preservation.

CHAPTER XXXV.

Arrival at Philadelphia—Commences making laces—Acquaintance with preachers—Fruitless efforts to obtain employment.

THE next day, we sailed up the Delaware to Philadelphia, where I went to an inn. I there resigned myself anew to my divine Redeemer, with all my wretchedness, and entreated him to be my guide, my instructor, and counsellor, in that country also; for he well knew, that I was no longer able to direct or assist myself. Being now entirely left to myself, except that the Lord held me fast by suffering, I could resignedly endure every affliction and adverse occurrence, and was able to bear with myself.* But the Lord was pleased to lead me through a new period of suffering in that foreign land.

* He only who has experienced it, knows how horrible the suffering is not to be able to bear himself. Without divine grace, such a state ends in desperation—*Jung Stilling*.

In a few days I met with a countryman, who was schoolmaster there, and well acquainted with my parents. He had removed thither during my voyages to the East Indies. We were not personally known to each other, but he had been informed of what had occurred to me before the voyage, and he treated me in a very friendly manner.

We now deliberated upon what was the most proper for me to do. I told him of the machines for making laces, and that I could give instructions how to make them, and prepare much that belonged to them myself; so that I could perhaps get a living by it. However, I was not very confident of this; for I had observed that they were not much worn there. For though there were some who made use of them, yet the thick, round, silk laces were most in demand, whilst I could only make flat ones. My friend, however, advised me to commence the thing. I therefore hired two rooms in his neighbourhood, and boarded with him. I then prepared two machines, and began to work. But before half a year was over, and after I had prepared a tolerable stock of laces, I perceived from the slow sale of them, that I could not exist upon it. Round silk laces being continually inquired for, I thought if I could make them, I should succeed better. I therefore ruminated upon the matter, and at length succeeded in making a machine, which answered the purpose. In a short time I had again a

considerable stock of them ready, but even these did not find purchasers sufficient to enable me to live by my labour. This caused me much inward and outward suffering, and anxiety for my outward support tormented me much; for after having spent a year in this trade, expended much money, and received little, my funds began to decline rapidly, and, according to my calculation, they would scarcely suffice me for another year.

Meanwhile, I became acquainted with many pious people. A great awakening also took place in Philadelphia. Both the Lutheran and Reformed preachers were serious men, who impressed the necessity of a godly life, with much earnestness and urgency, on the hearts of their hearers, and sought by every means in their power to promote the cause of religion. The first impetus to this awakening had been given by some Methodist preachers, who had arrived a few years before from England, and who continued their labours with much success amongst the English residing there. There was only one house between my lodging and the Reformed minister's residence; we were consequently neighbours; and being a serious and godly man, I frequently visited him, which afforded him pleasure. He became my friend, and sympathised much with my circumstances. My trade procuring me no sufficient maintenance, I sought to obtain a situation in some merchant's office, and he

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gave me all the advice and counsel in his power, and did what he could to aid me in attaining my object. But months passed away, and every attempt proved fruitless.

CHAPTER XXXVI.

The author is advised to devote himself to the ministry—Requires time for reflection, and lays the matter before the Lord.

BEING one evening with Mr. Weyberg, the Reformed minister, and speaking together respecting my situation, which still presented such a gloomy prospect, he said, that he would mention an idea which he had concerning me, which was, that I would be very suitable for the ministerial office. For since the preachers who were sent from Europe were not sufficient to fill the vacant stations, and many remained unoccupied, it would be easy for me to obtain a provision in that department. He thought, that if I resolved to reside some years with a preacher, who would give me sufficient instruction, and exercised myself meanwhile in public speaking, I should then be well qualified for a preacher.

This proposal came quite unexpectedly, and seemed at first entirely out of the question, especially in my afflicted state of mind, which was, however, unknown to my friend, and which I could not discover to him. I therefore replied, that in my own opinion, I was more fit for anything than for a preacher. He told me, however, that he thought very differently of me ; for he had often been astonished at perceiving my insight and experience in practical divinity ; I ought, therefore, to take the matter into consideration, and lay it before the Lord. I rejoined, that I knew not what to say to it, but would take a month's time to consider of it, and if during that time the Lord opened no other door for me, we would, if he pleased, confer further together on the subject.

When at home, and quietly reflecting upon the matter, it was suggested to me, " What ? I become a preacher, who have no longer any power to think on divine things ; so that whatever I meditate upon, my heart does not participate in it, nor derive the smallest food from it ; nay, it even almost feels a disgust at it, and rejects it !* That will never do. I must use every effort to find some other employment."

* Let it not be supposed, from what the author here says of his feelings at that time, that his heart had really a disgust at divine truth. So far from this, it was his integrity, his profound attachment to truth, and his insuperable aversion to

Accordingly, I set every spring again in motion to obtain a place with some merchant; for having learnt no other trade than that of making laces, I had nothing to look for from that quarter. But I was adapted for mercantile business, having my understanding at liberty in such like affairs, but when endeavouring to use it in divine things, such as in vocal prayer, &c., I found it almost impossible. It caused me the greatest affliction and distress, and if I endeavoured to constrain myself to it, my heart rejected it with repugnance.* To become a preacher

everything like hypocrisy, or mere appearance, which occasioned this feeling of repugnance in his heart. For the idea of saying anything with his lips, or meditating upon it with his understanding, in which his heart did not participate, was intolerable to him. In the afflicted condition in which God had at that time placed him, that he might be thoroughly purified from all self-approbation, his whole efforts were confined to enduring affliction and exercising resignation. He was, therefore, necessarily appalled by a situation in which his understanding, which had long been deprived of the ability to speculate and meditate on religious subjects, was to be occupied with things which at the time were objectionable to him, and it was therefore no wonder that his heart felt such a repugnance to them. How very different did the author act to many pulpit orators, who, without hesitation, promulgate truths, and teach that which their heart has never felt, and often, that which they do not even believe!

* Another reason for this repugnance is here adduced, which is, *constraint*. The exercises of the individual who has

in such a state would, as I foresaw, occasion me great distress and perplexity, unless the Lord strengthened and fitted me for it in a wonderful manner. But the month I had assigned for reflection terminated without the smallest prospect of any other engagement. A chief obstacle was, that I could neither read nor write English readily; for most of the business is transacted in that language. I offered to serve two or even three years without salary, but all was in vain. After much labour and sorrow, my situation remained as before, and I no longer knew what I ought to do.

Meanwhile, I laid my situation, with the most profound and heartfelt abasement, before the Lord, and entreated him to guide and direct me, and to overrule everything in the best and most salutary manner, in order that he might be eventually once more glorified by such a wretched creature as myself; that he was well aware, that notwithstanding all my misery, weakness, and infirmity, I was still desirous of loving him alone, and of becoming and continuing entirely

entirely resigned his will to God, must proceed from a state of freedom which is called "the glorious liberty of the children of God"—therefore filial and unconstrained. The case is different with sinful inclinations, desires, and lusts; they must be striven against, as well as the frequent slothfulness and listlessness to that which is good, such as prayer and the like. In this case violence must be employed.—*Jung Stilling.*

his property ; that I resigned myself to him with all the circumstances of the case, and since I was unable any longer to direct or assist myself, that he would himself be my continual guide, counsellor, and helper !

CHAPTER XXXVII.

The author becomes acquainted with many pious people—Is obliged to bear his sufferings in naked faith.

BEFORE I go further, and give an account of my resolution to become a preacher, I must say a little more concerning the acquaintances I made in Philadelphia.

I had by degrees entered into habits of intimacy with several pious friends, and with respect to many of them, I was able to perceive and try their state of mind, vocation, and fidelity with reference to the grace bestowed upon them; or, to speak more correctly, when associating with others, their whole state of mind was exposed to my view. This is not merely an ability to try the spirits, but rather an experimental knowledge, which appears as if it were natural to the individual—an involuntary insight into, and consciousness of, the state of the spirits of others. In this respect, the knowledge of my spirit increased, notwithstanding

all my poverty, wretchedness, and affliction. I was able so clearly and convincingly to lay open and unfold to many of these friends their state of mind, and what the Lord required of them according to their state, that they were much affected by it, and felt a great esteem for me. But I dared never fully open my mind to them, nor make an attempt to pour out the sufferings of my heart into theirs, that they might sympathise with me in them. If I only remotely made the attempt, they shuddered from sympathy, and shrank from me. I was, therefore, obliged to bear the burthen of my sufferings alone.

About this time I also became more intimately acquainted with the Lutheran minister. He was a gentle and worthy man, to whom God had kindly vouchsafed many gifts and graces, and whose labours were also blessed. I had often an opportunity of being in his company at the house of another friend, when we generally conversed upon what the Lord had wrought in Europe, and what he was then producing in America. Occasionally, I mentioned something respecting Tersteegen, what a pious man he was, and what a great blessing had attended his labours. But he entertained a strong prejudice against him and against his writings, which, however, according to his own confession, he had never read. On perceiving this, I dropped the subject, because I took no pleasure in disputing. I could also easily understand,

and knew from experience, that it was difficult to divest a man, who was himself a teacher of others, of prejudices which he entertained against any one. One day, when we were together at the house of the friend above alluded to, he showed us a little book, which consisted of verses, of which he read a few to us. These verses pleased both him and the rest of the company very much, on account of their spirituality. I asked him if he knew the author of them. He replied, that he did not; but that it must be a singularly favoured individual, and one who was experienced in the ways of God. Being well acquainted with the verses, which were from Tersteegen's "Pious Lottery," I told him that the latter was the author of them. He testified his astonishment, and confessed that he must have been a very good and highly favoured man! O that all those who have obtained mercy in Christ Jesus would lay aside all partiality, and regard all that as good and glorifying to God, which Jesus has wrought by his Spirit, from whatever quarter it may come, whether the individual be Reformed or Lutheran, Moravian, Methodist, or Menonite, or of the Romish or Greek church; for where the spirit of Jesus is—where he manifests himself—there is also his true church. For if two or three meet in his name, he promises to be in the midst of them. Heartfelt thanks be to the Spirit of God, that partiality and sectarianism amongst religious people

are on the decrease, that they approximate more and more closely to each other, and constitute an universal church in one spirit; in which, however, no one is required to forsake his outward religious persuasion wherein he was born and bred.

Whilst in Philadelphia, also, I took pleasure in visiting solitary places, particularly the adjoining woods, in order, as formerly, to give vent to my heart, by pouring it out before my Saviour. But all that was imparted to me in my approaches to the divine Redeemer, were consuming sufferings. If I bore them passively and patiently, I could then endure my state; but if I would not passively resign myself, and directed my longing desires entirely to my Redeemer, to deliver me out of my sufferings, and turn again his gracious countenance towards me—if I continued before him supplicating in this manner, and would not cease doing so, because I so much needed his grace and help, I fell into a very unnatural and oppressive state, such as is not to be described. Finding this to be the result of my impatience in suffering, I said to the Lord, “ Ah, Lord, my God, my Redeemer! I desire nothing! Let me but return to my former state. I will gladly be content with that state in which it pleases thee to place such a poor creature.” When I thus passively resigned myself to his good pleasure, I gradually returned to my passive state. The greatest virtue I could exercise in it

was patiently to bear with myself and all my sufferings. When I was impatient or intolerant towards myself, a secret but powerful voice then secretly said to me, "O my soul, have patience! Exercise forbearance towards thy impatience. Wait on the Lord; he will eventually do all things well."

There was nothing in the world or worldly things which could in any measure afford pleasure or satisfaction to my heart and mind. If I looked at myself, I often thought, I have nothing more, nor am I anything else but a natural, unconverted man. The only difference I could observe was, that natural men took their pleasure in the world, so that they could still have many enjoyments in their situation. But this was impossible for me. The whole world could not afford me the smallest pleasure or the most trifling satisfaction, and this was the only difference which I could perceive between myself and those in a state of nature.

In a state similar to that which I have described, in which all our own ability entirely fails, and we are obliged to cast ourselves unreservedly and unconditionally upon the mercy of God, the individual is in the real sense of the word, saved by grace, which though often spoken of, is found to be a very different matter when experienced, to what is generally supposed. The Lord then conducts the soul by creatures and events which appear to the individual to suc-

ceed each other quite naturally. But when the Lord afterwards opens his eyes, he perceives that he has been led by his gracious hand in every step which he took. I have also subsequently seen why the Lord so ordered it that I was obliged to become a preacher, as will appear from the sequel. Had I entered into worldly business, in which I could have used my reasoning powers, I should still have had something to serve as an alleviation to my sufferings. But it pleased the Lord to lead me contrary to my inclination, by entirely different paths. He could nowhere establish me more firmly, nor induce me to surrender at discretion, than in the ministerial profession. Such a state was for this object the most appropriate that could be for my circumstances; hence, as I now cannot but believe, the Lord permitted me to enter upon it. It might also have been said to me, "When thou wast young, thou girdedst thyself and walkedest whither thou wouldest; but when thou shalt be old, thou shalt stretch forth thy hands, and another shall gird thee, and carry thee whither thou wouldest not." (John xxi. 18.)

CHAPTER XXXVIII.

The author decides on becoming a preacher—Preparation for that office—First sermon—Deep feeling of his poverty and forlorn state.

MEANWHILE, the month I had allotted for reflection expired, and according to my promise, I was compelled to converse further with the Rev. Mr. Weyberg respecting his proposal. I therefore considered within myself to what resolution I should come. I reflected, that I could find no employment anywhere, however much I strove to obtain it, and since the ministerial office was offered me, I must make the attempt, trusting to the divine aid and assistance, and accept it. At the same time, I hoped, that because it was entirely contrary to my inclinations, and yet appeared to be the path of Providence with me, the Lord, during the time of preparation for it, would reanimate me with his grace and love, and then I ex-

pected to be able to labour for his honour and glory. But so far was this from being the case, that the severest trials and sufferings befel me in that profession; and yet everything went well in the end.

I therefore visited Mr. Weyberg, and on his beginning to speak of the matter, I told him, that since every path was closed with respect to obtaining employment, I must regard it as the guidance of the Lord, whose will it was that I should become a preacher of the gospel. And since he had been my first adviser in the matter, I had the confidence in him, that he would assist in placing me where I should receive the best preparation for that office.

He now deliberated with me further on what could be done to facilitate the thing, and asked me how long my property would still last me? I replied, that I had scarcely sufficient to exist upon for a year. He therefore thought it best that I should reside where I then was, and spend a few hours with him daily, in order to be instructed in the knowledge necessary for the fulfilment of ministerial duties. Having learnt something of Latin in my youth, he proposed at the same time to give me further instructions in it. I succeeded in this so far as to be able to understand a Latin author with tolerable facility. But because the study of this language took up too much time, and he did not regard it as indispensable, he gave up the teaching of it, and instructed me in divinity in

the German language. The COETUS* being held there about that time, I was obliged to present myself before the preachers, and at Mr. Weyberg's suggestion, it was unanimously thought proper, that he himself should prepare me for the ministerial office. This decision was sent, with the resolutions of the Coetus, to the Dutch synod for its sanction, which was granted the year following, without the slightest objection.

After having received instruction for almost a year, and having already composed a few sermons, an opportunity was afforded me of preaching at Frankfort, two leagues from Philadelphia. With Mr. Weyberg's advice, I accepted the invitation, and preached from Matthew xi. 28, "Come unto me, all ye that labour and are heavy laden, and I will give you rest." Several friends had accompanied me thither from Philadelphia. After sermon, they congratulated me, and said that my discourse was edifying, and pleased them well. But I was not satisfied with it; my heart felt no interest in all that I said, and it cost me much trouble to retain the sermon in my memory. My heart took no part in all the labours of my head with reference to divine things, and hence there was neither spirit nor life in them. It

* The name applied to the assembly of American Reformed preachers, which stood, at least at that time, under the jurisdiction of the Dutch Synod.

was not difficult for me to write a sermon, but because my head and heart rejected all forms and ideas of that which is good, it was extremely laborious to retain the subject in my recollection ; and hence preaching became one of the most painful and humiliating employments to me. Had I been called to the ministerial office in my previous state of mind, how would the understanding and the heart have co-operated for the promotion of the divine glory, and preaching would not only have been easy, but a pleasure ! But my harp now hung upon the willows, and yet I was called upon to make its notes resound, although I was like a captive in a strange land ! How distressing and humiliating this was to me !

After having received instruction from Mr. Weyberg for a year and a half, and preached several times in those parts, he was of opinion that I could honourably pass an examination, and ought to present myself at the next Coetus for that purpose ; I might then receive a call from some congregation, and obtain ordination. But I saw very clearly, that in the state of mind I then was, it would be impossible for me to fulfil the pastoral duties, not being sufficiently prepared for them, and that if I did so, I should plunge myself into still greater suffering and distress.

He that can in any measure imagine to himself my situation at that time, will be able in some degree

to comprehend what were my feelings during that period. I suffered extremely, and knew of no help nor outlet by which I could escape. My money had long been spent, and I did not feel at liberty to request anything of my friends. Providence also granted me very little, insufficient to relieve the half of my necessities. All that might have served as the slightest support was taken away from me, and nothing was left but poverty, wretchedness, suffering, and destitution, both inwardly and outwardly. If I applied to Him, who alone could deliver me, and laid before him all my situation in the deepest humility and heartfelt abasement; if I showed him how weary and heavy-laden I was, and besought him to shed abroad his saving grace again in my heart, nothing but consuming feelings of suffering pervaded my longing heart. If I were unwilling, under such circumstances, to yield myself up to everything—if I continued in the presence of my Redeemer with all my grief and wretchedness, and mournfully showed him how needful and indispensable his aid and his gracious assistance and influences were in my situation—my soul was then assailed by still more violent sufferings. If I refused to cease my supplications, and did not passively and patiently bear my painful state, I fell into a situation which was so intolerable as to be comparable to hell itself. And then I had enough to do, until I again stood hum-

bled under the divine dispensations. My state was in my own eyes so humiliating and disgraceful, that I should have been glad to have crept into some wilderness. My whole being often said with the pious Tersteegen—

How faint and weary do I feel,
Marching beneath the burning ray
Through barren deserts, which reveal
No track to guide my dubious way !
Poor, hungry, naked, and by grief oppress'd,
To be so far from Him my soul loves best.

CHAPTER XXXIX.

The author becomes private tutor—Painful situation—Acquaintance with the Rev. Mr. Otterbein.

I HAD become acquainted with a family who were sincerely pious people. The sister of the lady of the house was married to a judge, who resided at Lebanon, a little town about eighty miles distant from Philadelphia. Her husband frequently came thither, and it was by this means I became acquainted with him. One day when I went to the house, whilst this individual was again on a visit there, opportunity was given to speak of my circumstances, on which I expressed the wish to have some place in the country where I could reside for a time. On this the judge said, that he had a son who required a good education, and whom he wished to have something more taught than he could learn there; that if I would undertake the matter, he would be glad, and as he

had no one with him in his coach, I might ride with him to Lebanon. Such an offer could not be otherwise than acceptable to me in my situation at that time. I therefore replied, that I would consult with Mr. Weyberg on the subject. The latter considered the offer very proper and suitable for me, particularly because I could exercise myself in preaching in that neighbourhood. I therefore proceeded to Lebanon, and was thus relieved with respect to my temporal anxieties and necessities. But my inward sufferings continued to be my faithful companions, although they were also more tolerable.

After my arrival at Lebanon, and when I had become a little acquainted with the judge's children, of whom he had only two, a son and a daughter, I found that what he had said respecting the good education which his son required, was but too well founded, for I have never met with a boy who had been worse brought up. After observing a little the conduct of the parents towards the children, and of the latter towards their parents, I thought that I should not only be unable to accomplish anything, but should soon be obliged to resume my wanderings, even if I only half did my duty. On the very outset I used every means in my power to gain the confidence of the parents, and sought also to win the affections of the children, as much as I could do so without trenching upon my duty. But the latter,

particularly the son, who might be about twelve years old, were so spoiled and presumptuous, that they contradicted their parents in everything, so as even to apply abusive and ironical names to them ; and the latter were blinded by their foolish affection to such a degree, that they treated it with indifference, to the astonishment and disgust of those who were obliged to witness it. It was not long before they attempted to act the master also over me, but by the seriousness of my deportment, they were restrained, and kept within the limits of respect. If I spoke with the parents on the necessity of maintaining more authority over their children, I preached to deaf ears ; their absurd affection was too great to permit them to listen to reason, and it was immediately perceptible that they listened unwillingly to my suggestions. What I should teach the children was entirely left to their caprice. I saw, therefore, that I could not accomplish anything, and resigned myself to it as well as I was able.

The reformed preacher of that place, by birth a Swiss, had been, during the seven years' war, a lieutenant amongst the American provincial troops. In his youth he was intended for the study of divinity, but had left the academy, and entered into the Dutch service, as experienced officers were wanting in the formation of the American provincial army, and as the English offered promotion to the Dutch officers, if

the latter would enter their service, many were naturally induced to do so. And in this way, he as well as the judge, who had previously been a major, had come to America. But when the troops were paid off at the termination of the war, they were also placed out of employ; and this man, therefore, in order to gain a maintenance, had assumed the ministerial office in those parts, and had also received ordination. He not only permitted me to preach in his church as often as I pleased, but he urged me to do so more than I liked, because he had himself no inclination to preach much.

I sought, meanwhile, to accommodate myself to my situation as well as I was able, but saw clearly that I could not long remain there, for nothing whatever could be done with the children, and I frequently observed, at the same time, that the parents wished for an opportunity of dismissing me; I therefore heartily wished that the Lord would open a door for me to leave the family, but saw no prospect of doing so myself.

The Rev. Mr. Otterbein arrived at Lebanon in the spring to visit a medical friend of his of the name of Stoy. Being well acquainted with the latter, I met with Mr. Otterbein during my occasional visits to his house. He was a truly pious and kind-hearted man, and was universally esteemed for his godly life. He also showed me much friendship and kindness from

the first moment of our acquaintance, for which I now publicly testify my heartfelt acknowledgments. After conversing awhile with him, and feeling a confidence in him from his friendly deportment, I communicated my outward circumstances to him, and also something of my inward state. He sincerely sympathised with both; and because he knew the family with which I was, he did not think it good for me to remain longer with them, but told me, that after his departure, I might come to him at Yorktown, where he was minister, and we would then consider what would be best for me to do.

I could no longer entirely reveal the state of my mind to any individual, for it was of such a nature as to be almost incomprehensible to myself. During the many storms I had encountered, I had lost sail and mast, rudder and compass, and my vessel was driven about on a boisterous ocean. But the pilot was still on board, notwithstanding I had scarcely any perception of it, and knew how so to guide and govern all things, that it reached at last the safe and desired haven.

CHAPTER XL.

Removal to Mr. Otterbein's, and afterwards to Tolpихacon—
Ministerial labours—Call to Germantown.

AFTER Mr. Otterbein had left Lebanon, I arranged all my little affairs, took a friendly leave of the judge and his family, and after a six months' residence there, proceeded to Yorktown.

I stayed with Mr. Otterbein above six weeks, and preached twice in the town and once in the country, but still with the same mental suffering. I gave Mr. Otterbein to understand, that as far as I knew myself, I could not at present enter upon the pastoral office, because I did not feel at liberty to do so. He told me, that I ought not to undertake it until my mind was quite at ease upon the subject. He had thought, that if Mr. Hendel, the minister of Tolpихacon, approved of my going to reside with him, that would be at present, probably, the best place for me,

because he dwelt in a district, where he had seven churches under his charge, and I should there have an opportunity of exercising myself in preaching ; at the same time, he would probably stand in need of some one to instruct his children. This was to me a very acceptable proposition, if Mr. Hendel would only consent to it. Mr. Otterbein wrote to him on the subject, and the answer fully corresponded with our hopes, for he wrote to say I might come to him immediately.

I had already become well acquainted with Mr. Hendel during my residence at Lebanon ; for Tolpihacon lying only four leagues from thence, I had already visited him whilst living there. This individual was one of the best preachers whom I knew in America. He possessed great attainments, and was a truly godly man, devoid of sectarianism and party spirit. He subsequently became preacher in Philadelphia. Mr. Hendel had some children, to whom I gave instruction, which succeeded better than in the judge's family at Lebanon, because a different spirit breathed there. Outwardly, I lived quietly and contentedly, enjoyed a pleasing and friendly intercourse with Mr. Hendel, and often preached to his congregations. I therefore thought of remaining there until it should please the Lord to change my mournful state.

During my residence at Tolpihacon, I received

calls from several congregations to undertake the pastoral charge, but I declined them all. Amongst the rest I was solicited for this purpose by the church at Germantown, where I occasionally preached. The following is the letter which was written to me on the occasion by the minister of the place.

“ Beloved friend in the Lord,

“ Having some time ago resolved to accept the call given me by the church at Lancaster, I intend removing thither, if it please God, in three weeks. The church in Germantown will, therefore, be without a regular preacher ; and although a certain minister has offered his services, yet the majority of the elders and deacons do not look solely to outward attainments, but are desirous of possessing a minister who does not merely preach the dead letter with a fine voice, but by whom the word of the Lord is experimentally announced to them with the power of the Spirit. With this view, they have unanimously directed their attention to you, and requested me, in the name of the church, to inquire whether you would resolve upon accepting a call from it ; in that case you might come down as soon as possible and preach, and then afterwards settle the rest with the office-bearers of the church. You preached here when it pleased the Lord to visit me whilst at Lebanon with

such a severe and tedious illness. You were approved of by every one who had any feeling for that which is good, and it is this which has induced the heads of the church to commission me to write to you. I undertook the matter the more readily, because I was convinced that you are the individual, who through divine grace can contribute to the promotion of the kingdom of Jesus, however incapable you may regard yourself to be.

“I therefore call upon you in the name of Jesus, who thus affords you a new opportunity of usefully labouring in his vineyard, not to be always so timid and mistrustful of yourself, but to be again spiritually bold, and learn anew to risk something, confiding in the aid of Him, who has hitherto so wonderfully helped you. By this I do not mean to advise you blindly to seize the offer. No! examine the matter minutely and carefully in the presence of the Lord. Be not, therefore, too desponding, but courageous and confident in the Lord, who is able and willing to help. With respect to outward circumstances—such as the consent of the Coetus, ordination, &c. these will follow in their due order, if you only resolve upon accepting the offer.

“Yourself, or a letter from you, are therefore expected here as soon as possible.

“I commend you to the grace of Him, who guides

his people into all truth, and gives them always in due time, what and how they ought to speak; and am

“Your sincere friend and brother in the Lord,

“A. HELFFENSTEIN.”

“*Germantown, Jan. 5, 1775.*”

This letter made a powerful impression on my mind, and I knew not at first what resolution I should adopt. But after having examined myself and the whole affair before the Lord, and conferred also with Mr. Hendel, I found it most advisable to go to Germantown. I therefore wrote to Mr. Helffenstein, “That I thanked him for his friendly letter, and requested him also to return my grateful acknowledgements to the members of the council of the church for their affection, esteem, and confidence. But as I felt that my powers were at present too weak to take the charge of such a church, I dared not accept their kind offer. I hoped and wished, however, that the Lord would provide them with a man of greater gifts and powers than I possessed, who should declare unto them the word of God, and whose labours amongst them would be attended with a blessing.” I now thought the matter was at an end; but a month afterwards, one of the elders of the church came to me and sought to persuade me to accept the call; but I continued firm to my determination. He then requested me to travel thither, and preach to them at

Easter, stating that they had already arranged with Mr. Weyberg, that he should administer the sacrament to them on Easter Monday, for which reason I must preach for him on that day in Philadelphia, which is only three leagues from Germantown. I acceded to this, rode thither at the time appointed, and preached in both places. It placed me, however, in an embarrassing situation ; for they strongly urged me to remain at Germantown, and Mr. Weyberg was in some measure dissatisfied with me for refusing. However, I did not feel myself at liberty to comply with their wishes, sought to part from them in as friendly a manner as possible, and travelled back to Tolpahacon.

CHAPTER XLI.

Examination and ordination—Takes charge of seven scattered congregations—Tolerance and meekness towards others—Religious liberty in America—Intercourse with Methodists—Remarks on other sects—War with England.

AFTER residing for upwards of two years in those parts, Mr. Otterbein received a call to Baltimore, which he accepted, and Mr. Wagener, who preached in the same county, succeeded him in York-town. The congregations in the country were therefore without a preacher. Mr. Wagener, with whom I had become very intimate whilst residing at York-town, continued his solicitations until I resolved to take charge of these country churches. There were seven of them, which were placed under my care ; and every visit to them was undertaken on horseback. These churches being all in the vicinity of York-town, which lay almost in the centre of

them, I fixed my abode there. The Coetus was held that year at Lancaster. I therefore went thither in order to be examined. After this was over, the Rev. Messrs. Helffenstein and Wagener were commissioned to ordain me at York-town, which accordingly took place in the presence of the elders of the churches which were now placed under my charge, and of several of the members.

I was therefore now an ordained reformed minister, and fulfilled my pastoral duties to the congregations entrusted to me faithfully and conscientiously, according to the grace granted me by the Lord. My inward state was still replete with suffering ; but I endured everything which the Lord permitted to befall me from one moment to another, patiently and passively, and hence I came off tolerably well through everything. Having prepared myself so long for the work of the ministry, I fulfilled it to the satisfaction of my flock. Through grace it had become natural to me in my intercourse with others, to conduct myself with kindness, forbearance, and friendliness towards all men. Everything that was harsh or stubborn in my nature was stripped off by my manifold sufferings, and in consequence of this tolerant and impartial spirit, I could associate with all classes of Christians. I let every one alone as to his outward opinions, and pointed only to the chief thing—the seeking and finding in Jesus the forgiveness of sins, salvation, and

the power to lead a godly life. In consequence of acting thus, and because I testified my esteem for that which is good wherever I found it, I gained the good-will of the inhabitants, and when I preached, numbered amongst my hearers persons of all persuasions.

As the most unlimited religious liberty reigns in America, a great multitude of such as were persecuted in Europe on account of their religious sentiments removed thither, and hence there were so many individuals professing different religious opinions, and I had abundant opportunity of associating with them all. An insight into the state of mind of those with whom I conversed, had become, by my various experience, almost natural to me. I saw, knew, and felt it without desiring to do so ; everything lay open as it were to the eyes of my mind. When in company with those of other persuasions who had something good in them, I paid no regard to their particular opinions, and showed them how much I esteemed them. But if they were such as thought highly of themselves in consequence of their religious peculiarities, I sought in a friendly manner to convince them that true religion did not consist in such things ; that those who placed any particular value on that which did not essentially belong to true godliness, only uselessly wasted the grace vouchsafed to them, and in the day of trial and distress would

find their hands empty ; and that all the strength for a godly life, and advancement in sanctification gradually evaporated in striving about religious opinions ; that by the delay thus occasioned, we should never reach the aim for which God had created us, and his Son so dearly redeemed and purchased us ; that if we were really the partakers of divine grace, we must place the substance of christianity in denying ourselves with all our ideas and opinions, through the power of Jesus, and his Spirit, exercising ourselves in prayer, and in a filial walk in the light of his countenance, and cleaving unto him who has ransomed us, that we might become one spirit with him, (1 Cor. vi. 17,) and that we must seek to become like his lowly image ; that this was the chief concern to which the recipient of divine grace had to attend ; this was the aim and object for which God created us, and his Son, our Lord Jesus Christ had so dearly redeemed us ; all the rest was matter of opinion and of trifling importance, which would not avail in the time of need and the hour of death, and the individual meanwhile might continue a captive to his passions, and God and eternity remain strange and unknown to him.

I had also much intercourse with the Methodists, and their preachers, particularly during my residence in Philadelphia. I there attained to such a knowledge of the English language as to be able not only

to understand them, but also to make myself understood. The opportunities afforded me in Philadelphia were the occasion of my frequently conversing with these people and their preachers. Hence I became acquainted with everything which their founders, Wesley and Whitfield, as well as others, had published with respect to that society. These people have done much good, both in England and America. Amongst the English, particularly in Maryland and Virginia, there was little vitality with respect to religion. But the Methodist preachers, who were sincerely pious and active men, became a means in the hands of the Lord of causing a salutary awakening, not only amongst the mass of the people, but also amongst many individuals of rank, and a considerable number experienced an entire change.

Besides the various sects and parties with which North America abounds, there were also Separatists, who detached themselves from all ecclesiastical institutions, and public devotional exercises, in order, as they thought, to live the more holily. However, the most of them had lost the good which had previously so animated their zeal, and lived worse, and more immorally, than those from whom, on account of their unchristianlike deportment, they had seceded. The liberty which every one has in America, with respect to religious opinions and divine worship, and the circumstance that ecclesiastical laws are only binding

upon a person, so far as he pleases—this liberty has a very prejudicial influence on the morality of many of the inhabitants, particularly of many of the recent and smaller sects, who are still less bound together than the larger bodies. For as such sects have nothing particularly obligatory upon them, and in general possess little education and good-breeding, and at the same time are for the most part wealthy and affluent, all these causes combine to increase immorality amongst them. Here I visibly perceived, that outward order and a good ecclesiastical constitution, devoid of intolerance and sectarian and party-spirit, has a great influence upon the moral character of men. There were, however, still many true Christians amongst the various sects, who deeply lamented the declension of their brethren, and used every effort to stem the torrent of corruption.

Meanwhile, war broke out with England, and gradually raged more and more furiously. Every endeavour was made on the part of England to compel the provinces to an unconditional submission, and the Americans exerted themselves no less to shake off the yoke, and obtain liberty and independence. As soon as the provinces openly proclaimed themselves independent, any one possessed of any knowledge of mankind and state policy, clearly saw that the restoration of a settled peace could not be hoped for in America, unless they attained their

object. Having a strong predilection for America, and being better pleased with that country than any other, I thought of nothing else than ending my days there. Regarding it, therefore, as my earthly home and abode for life, it was quite natural that I should wish its further prosperity. This predilection has continued with me, and if Providence, by peculiar methods, had not kept me bound to Germany, I should long ago have returned to that country.

CHAPTER XLII.

The author resolves to leave America for a time, in consequence of the war.—Preparations for departure.

IT will not be in my power to say much more respecting my inward state. The Lord secretly supported me, so that I was able to bear the afflictions and sufferings which still lay upon me with serenity and patience. I felt completely and unconditionally resigned to all that the Lord might please to do with me. My state of mind often appeared to me—to use a biblical figure—as if my whole being were a fortress, in which pride, self-love, self-appropriation—in short, the entire life of self, had so firmly fortified itself, that I perceived it was only possible to Omnipotence to destroy this fortress, and make all these enemies submit. But the bulwarks were so firm, and the walls so strong; that, at first, everything rebounded from them, and I often thought when all my innate

depravity was exposed to my view, that God would never be able to overcome the life of self within me ; for the more I was humbled, the prouder I became. But the stronger attacked the strong, and brought with him such a quantity and variety of artillery, that the walls gradually began to give way, and at length every fortification and bulwark was thrown down and demolished. The enemy sometimes showed himself weaker, and at other times stronger than ever. At length, when all lay in dust and ruins, and when there was no longer any power to resist, there was rest and peace. The ground on which the fortress had stood was levelled, so that there being no longer any opposition, the arrows or balls of affliction swept unhindered across the plain. He who had begun the good work in me, would not leave it incomplete ; he proceeded with it till he had subdued everything, and conquered all his foes. About a year before I left America, my state of mind gradually became peaceful and satisfied. Outward disturbances and unpleasantnesses induced me at length to take my departure from America, but only, as I then thought, for a season.

But before I proceed with this part of my history, I must mention a few particulars relative to the ecclesiastical and political state of the country at that time. In consequence of the numerous sects and parties which everywhere prevailed, and their

residing indiscriminately together, a very extensive circuit was requisite before several congregations of the same confession could be brought together for the purpose of meeting the expenses of the churches and preachers. In the country, the Reformed and the Lutheran generally united in the building of churches, in which service was held every other Sunday by the preachers of both confessions; and one preacher had every Sunday to preach in two churches—in the forenoon at one, and in the afternoon at the other, although they often lay at a distance of two leagues from each other. But in some churches service is performed only every fourth, and in some every sixth, week.

When a preacher receives a call from a congregation, the elders assemble the latter, for the purpose of ascertaining the salary to be offered him. Every one then subscribes what he pleases towards it for the year, and this takes place annually because no one will bind himself to a longer period. That which an individual has subscribed he must pay; but if he wishes to leave the church no one can compel him to give anything further.

When the preacher has looked over the list, he engages to preach to them every fortnight, or once a month, according to the amount subscribed. If one or two churches wish to have a preacher for themselves, they must contribute sufficiently for his main-

tenance. According to the laws of the Reformed churches in America, a preacher has a right to make his regular income amount to three hundred dollars; hence he takes charge of as many congregations as unitedly produce that sum. The result of all this is very dubious for a preacher who has any misunderstanding with his congregations; for when the latter cease to provide him with a salary, his services are at an end. This, though a rare case, is not without example. Now, if the Coetus declare in favour of the preacher, such churches are left without ministers, and secluded from the fellowship of other churches. But, if they should subsequently submit, and confess that they had done wrong, promising at the same time to act better towards their preacher, they are again received into fellowship, and obtain a preacher. But if the latter has acted so, that the Coetus cannot justify him, the congregation choose another, and he is left to shift for himself. However, I have found, on the whole, that a preacher who acts in a manner worthy of his office, enjoys as much consideration, and can exist there as well as in Europe. With respect to the latter point, I must however except the period of the war then carrying on, which proved particularly prejudicial to the preachers, because nothing was in circulation but paper-money, which, being issued by the Congress, was obliged to be taken by every one. But the case

was the same with it, as subsequently with the French assignats in this country. For, even though a large sum might be subscribed for the preacher; yet, before the year was at an end, when the payment was to be made, the paper-money had fallen to one-third of its previous value, so that he really received only a small sum; all articles of dress, meanwhile, rose to extremely high prices.

Many unpleasant scenes occurred in consequence of this paper-money. But still greater disturbance and confusion ensued from the orders that every one, capable of bearing arms, should march against the foe, which fell very severely, particularly upon the royalists, of whom there was a great number in two of my most considerable congregations. Every preacher, of whatever sect he might be, was obliged by an order from the government to take oath that he would be a faithful subject to the United States. If they could not, or would not do this, they were compelled to resign their office. About this period I was speaking one day with a judge, with whom I was on terms of intimacy, respecting the affairs of the country, and declared myself in its favour. He inquired if I were really in earnest? On my answering in the affirmative, he said that he could then give me a certificate that I had taken the oath of fidelity to the States. I gladly accepted this offer, because every preacher was under the necessity, if called upon, to

produce such a document before the Committee of Safety, which was therefore equivalent to an oath. I consequently felt obliged, where it was requisite, to take the part of the United States. However, I acted with extreme caution, in order not to give offence to the royalists in my congregations; but where such a party-spirit reigns, as was at that time the case, it is impossible for a minister's political sentiments to remain long concealed. Many of these people required me to think as they did; but because this was out of my power, disagreement ensued. It was at that time that the order was issued to march against the enemy, which produced the greatest confusion. I could not do otherwise than advise them to yield as much as possible to present circumstances, because it was incumbent upon us to submit to the existing authorities in all things not contrary to conscience. I assured them how deeply it pained me, that they were obliged to quit their families, and expose themselves to so many hardships, and even to the hazard of their lives; but that I could not alter the matter in the least. The admonitions I had often given them were also the same on this occasion—that they should in all cases give themselves up entirely to the Lord, and in the feeling of their sinfulness and wretchedness, apply in every painful situation to Jesus, as a Redeemer from all misery. He was able to help, and could always give his faithful followers

a courageous and tranquil heart, afford them his powerful assistance, and help them through every danger.

Those who vented their rage against the Congress were dissatisfied with me when I did not coincide with them. Amongst these was a respectable man, who was a violent royalist, and occasioned much mischief in the churches under my charge. I one day took the liberty to visit him, and request him to use more caution, because by continuing to act in such a manner, he might do himself an injury. But I could produce no impression upon him. He reviled and mocked at the government of the country, and because I could not, of course, commend him for doing so, and sought to convince him that it was improper, he became violently enraged at me. He went amongst the congregations, where he had many relatives, and numbers of his own sentiments, and sought to stir up all against me. The confusion increasing to the highest pitch, I perceived it was the best for me to resign the charge of these churches. But as they were the most lucrative, I foresaw that after this step I should not be able to remain. I had still many friends amongst them, who were grieved at it, but they could do nothing in the matter to my advantage.

The year was near its close, and the period approached when my salary was to be paid. This con-

sisted of many thousand dollars ; but as sixty or seventy paper-dollars were only equivalent to one silver one, for all this money I could scarcely procure myself a new coat.

I began now to consider what was best to be done under such circumstances. There were opportunities, indeed, of undertaking the charge of other congregations, but as the disturbance and confusion was everywhere very great on account of the war, an inclination arose in me to leave the country for a season. Having had for a long time no news from my native land, in consequence of the war, I thought that my parents were dead ; but as it was possible they might be still alive, a very lively wish was excited in me to see them once more, and I was also desirous of revisiting my pious acquaintances. In addition to this, I was aware that if my parents were dead, so much property would be left me as would not only be sufficient for my support till the end of the war, but would also enable me to accomplish my return to America. I had no thoughts of remaining in Europe, being too well pleased with my adopted country. The vexations I had endured in the latter were only the consequences of a destructive war ; nor was I the only one amongst the preachers to whom the war occasioned unpleasantness : all my brethren in office were compelled to suffer from it. And because the people were obliged to perform military exercise, which generally

took place on the Sunday, the confusion was so great, that most of them wished themselves in another region. The inconvenience caused by the paper-money, and the ruin of many families, which arose from it, naturally increased this wish greatly ; at the same time their emoluments no longer sufficed to defray their necessities.

Not a single friend amongst the preachers opposed my intention of proceeding to Europe ; on the contrary, there were several, who said, if they had no family they would accompany me. Mr. Otterbein, who was unmarried, had really determined to do so ; but reflecting on the danger to which he would be exposed on the voyage, since the English captured almost every vessel that left America, he desisted from his purpose. Although I saw the danger as well as he, yet my inclination to return to Europe, under the existing local circumstances, outweighed every other consideration. My character was such that when anything of an outward nature was to be attempted, fear and danger had no influence upon my undertaking it.

When my determination to revisit Europe became known, many, who were well acquainted with me, came and requested me to assist them in forming commercial connexions with Holland ; in consideration of which they promised to contribute towards the expenses of my voyage. To this I agreed, and

engaged to do all in my power for them. For this purpose they entrusted me with various large sums. I received bills for upwards of 3000*l.* on Mr. Franklin, the ambassador of the United States in Paris, and a bill for 150*l.* on the Treasury Office in London. In consequence of enjoying an extensive confidence, I received also sums of money from many of my friends, for which I was to purchase cloth for wearing apparel, in Holland, for them, and send it by way of St. Eustatia; for at that time not a yard of cloth could be bought for money; and even if anything arrived, it was immediately bought up, or taken for the use of the army.

CHAPTER XLIII.

Departure for St. Eustatia—Action with an English frigate—
Escape under the cannons of St. Eustatia.

AFTER having spent nine years in America, from 1770 to 1779, experienced much that was pleasant and painful, and wandered through many and chiefly gloomy paths, I at length entered upon my return to Europe in the month of August, the same in which I had arrived. I first travelled to Baltimore, from whence the greatest number of vessels proceeded to Europe, and also to St. Eustatia. Mr. Otterbein offered me his house for my abode until my departure; and I was compelled to remain there three weeks, before an opportunity presented itself. There being some vessels then taking in tobacco for France, I had once half determined to take my passage on board one of them. But my friends advised me against it, on account of the great danger to which I

should be exposed. They preferred my proceeding first to St. Eustatia, and from thence to Europe. I saw clearly, indeed, that this was the safest route, but found it difficult to resolve upon it, because it was so circuitous ; for the voyage thither would take three weeks, and I should then be further from Europe than before. I resolved, however, to go that way, because when once at St. Eustatia I ran no farther risk of being captured ; for the Dutch were neutral, and were still at peace. Some vessels were lying at Baltimore, bound for that island, and I resolved to take my passage on board one of the best of them.

I therefore took leave of all my friends, and went on board. There were four vessels in company, which sailed together from Baltimore. We had almost reached the mouth of the Chesapeak when we met with vessels, from which we learned that English privateers were lying at the entrance of the bay, which had driven them back, and followed them into the bay. We were, therefore, obliged to come to anchor, and remain upwards of three weeks in the bay, which is three hundred miles long and ten broad, in consequence of its being blocked up by the privateers. This circumstance caused us gradually to be joined by twelve vessels from Maryland and Virginia, amongst which was a frigate of twenty-four guns. At length a storm arose, which compelled the privateers to leave the coast, because they would otherwise have been in danger of being driven ashore.

As soon as the storm had in some measure abated, we put to sea, and proceeded on our voyage to St. Eustatia with a favourable wind. The vessels which the Americans at that time used for the purposes of trade, were built for quick sailing, that they might escape the attacks of the English. Each vessel carried six or eight little cannons to defend themselves against the privateers, and to keep them off, if, in the event of a calm, the latter should attack them with armed boats.

We proceeded on our voyage without interruption, until we saw, one afternoon, the first West India island. Early the next morning, we perceived that instead of twelve, the number of our vessels was increased to thirteen; and when it was broad daylight, we observed that the hindmost ship did not belong to us. We showed our flag, but the ship made no signal in return. Our frigate now made signals for us to give chase to her. The vessel, which was an English privateer, perceiving this, bore up close to the wind. The ship on board of which I was, proved to be the swiftest sailer of the whole. Being able to sail faster and nearer to the wind than the privateer, we overtook her and occasionally fired a gun at her, of which she took no notice, being still too far off to be injured by our shots. Had we come near enough to be within reach of her guns, she might have destroyed our sails and rigging, and afterwards have captured us within

sight of our frigate, which could not lie so near the wind; but we took care to prevent this. At noon, our frigate was lying a league to leeward of us, and made signals for us to cease, and pursue our course.

The privateer took her way with all her sails set, to St. Christopher, as we supposed, which island belongs to the English, and where there are always many privateers. Our captain was also aware, that a well-armed frigate was stationed there. The course to St. Eustatia is generally taken through a channel between that island and St. Christopher, for otherwise the roads of St. Eustatia cannot be reached, except by tacking, because of the trade-winds. We were, however, much perplexed, some of our vessels being slower sailers, and we were unwilling to leave them in the lurch. For as the privateer sailed away from us so fast, that the same evening she was no longer in sight, we regarded it as certain, that she would inform the other English privateers of our being there; which supposition was only too well founded.

The next day, towards evening, we approached the channel, and hoped to pass it in the dark, and thus escape any attack. But the other privateers, having received information from the one we had seen, had laid themselves in ambush behind a cape; so that after we had proceeded some little way down the channel, a cannonade commenced all at once in the

midst of us and on all sides, and the confusion was extreme. It was just as if a hawk had descended into a poultry-yard ; every one sought to save himself as well as he was able. We were obliged to retire in the greatest disorder, in order to take the northern course round the island, and thus be under the necessity of reaching the roads by tacking. We were exposed to a continual cannonade the whole of the way. One of our ships, which was the worst sailer, was boarded by the privateers, and taken, at no great distance from us. We kept close to our frigate, which, however, did not trust itself to approach the privateers. On reaching the northern extremity of the island, we lay to, and attacked the privateers. Our frigate fired one broadside after another at them, which they equally returned ; but it being night, nothing was accomplished by it.

Our captain now called out to the commander of the American frigate, that it was not advisable to stay there any longer, for he believed the English frigate was still behind, and if she were to come up, it would be all the worse for us. We therefore proceeded on our course with all speed ; but this was not of long duration, for we were now obliged to begin to tack, in order to gain the roads. The weather was clear and beautiful, and one could see to a tolerable distance. After having made one or two tacks, our captain began to exclaim with an oath, " There is the

English frigate ! Helm a-lee !" Scarcely had we got to windward, in order to avoid running between the English frigate and our own, when the former called out to the latter, " Where are you from ?" Our frigate answered, " From Baltimore !" " Strike !" exclaimed the Englishman. " No ! no !" was the reply. The English frigate immediately poured in a broadside, which was returned in like manner—the vessels not being more than twenty paces from each other. During the time that our frigate, which lay to leeward, received the broadside, we were somewhat to windward of the English frigate, which now fired another broadside at our vessel. But the cannon of the English being pointed too high, in consequence of being to leeward of us, and our vessel being low in the water, all the shot passed through our rigging, and not a single ball hit the ship. We had no thoughts of retaliating, but sought to save ourselves as well as we could. The other vessels, having anticipated the arrival of the English frigate, had timely taken to flight, and left us during the skirmish off the north point. Meanwhile, the Englishman turned about, and gave our frigate another broadside. The former carrying twelve and eighteen pounders, and the latter only six and eight pounders, the battle would soon have been decided, had we not arrived in the meantime under the cannons of St. Eustatia. The latter now began to thunder from the fort and

batteries, so that the balls['] whizzed around us on all sides. For the Dutch being neutral, no fighting was permitted under their cannon, and if a vessel were captured within their range, it must have been restored. We made fire-signals that we were not the aggressors. The Englishman ceased firing, and we tacked amidst the jeers of the English privateers, who still kept up a fire of small arms, till we reached the roads of St. Eustatia at three o'clock in the morning. Whilst lying together with the English in the roads, they bantered us for fleeing from them so timidly. The English frigate having been so near ours, almost every shot had taken effect. Three men were killed and five wounded.

During the whole of this affair, I retained complete self-possession, and remained on deck from the beginning to the end of it, because I was exposed to no greater danger than I should have been below. I cannot say that during the whole action, any particular fear came over me, and I did not once lose presence of mind. Being a passenger, which our captain would have been obliged, in case of need, to certify, I knew that if our ship should be taken, I could not have been kept a prisoner. But whether I might not have been deprived of my property was another question. I hoped, however, at all events, to save that which I carried about with me, which on some occasions I concealed under shabby clothes, and

which constituted a considerable sum. However, I came safely through everything, for which I thanked God with a grateful heart. I had certainly great reason for this, since he had given me to see and experience so many proofs of his paternal kindness and protection during the voyage, that I must have had an unsusceptible heart not to have responded to them with filial gratitude.

CHAPTER XLIV.

Departure for Holland—Stormy and disagreeable passage—
Vile behaviour of the captain—Sight of the English coast.

ST. EUSTATIA being a free and neutral port, a very animated trade was carried on there, so that perhaps in no other place in the world was there so much bustle and confusion. It may be inferred how considerable the trade of the place must have been, from the circumstance, that Admiral Rodney, seventeen months afterwards, on conquering that island, made a booty of three millions sterling. Provisions being extremely dear, as is usually the case in such a concourse of people, and being obliged to pay a Spanish piastre for a dinner, I was very desirous of taking my departure on the first opportunity.

A Dutch vessel lay ready for sea in the roads. I resolved to take my passage in her, although I was not pleased either with the captain or his ship; for

if I had not done so, I should have been compelled to wait at least three or four weeks before another vessel for Holland would have been ready for sea; and the intervening time would have been both painful and expensive to me. I went on board the vessel, which was gaily decked out, but appeared rather old, and conversed with the captain. He was a young man of four-and-twenty years of age, but his character did not please me at all. If it had not been that I was anxious to leave the island, I would have desisted from my purpose. But, desirous of proceeding, I was obliged to be content to accompany him. I therefore paid the passage-money, took a passport, which cost me four Spanish dollars, without which the captain was not permitted to take a passenger, and went on board the Dutch ship, the 9th of October, 1779.

Although I had no longer any enemies to fear, because Holland was still neutral, yet this voyage was the most perilous of any I had hitherto made, and it often seemed to me as if I should never see land again. It was now autumn, which is the most dangerous season for navigation; for until winter commences, the most violent storms prevail in the Atlantic Ocean. On leaving St. Eustatia, and before we were quite out of the western Archipelago, we were overtaken by a violent storm, which carried away our topmasts, and our ship became so leaky,

that the pumps were obliged to be kept continually going. I now learnt that the vessel had been purchased from the English, that the captain had been mate of another vessel, and was now for the first time promoted to be captain. Having seen through the character of the man, and his vessel being old and almost unseaworthy, I foresaw that it would not terminate without endangering our lives. The captain was a vile and worthless man. He had been brought up at sea by his father, who was also captain of a vessel, and had afterwards sailed in other ships. He and the rest of the crew were extremely superstitious. During the storm, they imagined the vessel was haunted, which deprived them of courage, whilst their minds were continually filled with terrific imagery. The crew consisted of eighteen men, who were sufficient for the management of such a vessel.

After fixing up new topmasts, and proceeding on our way about as far as the Bermuda Isles, we were pursued and overtaken by a privateer. The captain had hoped to have made a good prize of us, but after having seen our passports he was in a rage, because he saw that we were neutral, and consequently all his exertions to reach us had been useless labour.

Some weeks after, we had another violent storm, by which the vessel became very leaky. Part of the stern gave way, and the water rushed in. The vessel was laden with sugar at the bottom, bags of

coffee were strewed upon the sugar, and the whole was covered with dry hides. We escaped tolerably well from this storm, but soon found a very unpleasant smell on board, caused by the hides, which became rotten in consequence of the water which had rushed in. Many were thrown into the sea, the rest were dried, and returned to their place. But what was the most dangerous, was, that the bags of coffee having burst, from being wet, the coffee got into the suckers of the pumps, and choked them. In stormy weather, the decks were covered with coffee, pumped up out of the vessel, and the sugar melting, was also pumped away. The leak which we discovered, we stopped as well as we were able, and finding that by pumping we could still get the better of the water in fair weather, our hopes of preservation revived; but they again sank, when reflecting on future storms. Yet I must confess, I had no fear of perishing on the voyage; on the contrary, I felt a kind of assurance, which whispered to me not to fear, for I should arrive in Europe safe and well. The captain, however, besides his brutality, gave proofs of great ignorance, and showed how extremely unfit he was to guide a vessel upwards of two thousand miles across the ocean, through storm and tempest, and raging winds and waves. What would have become of us, if He had not been with us, whom the winds and the sea obey!

After sailing for a considerable distance with a variety of winds, and when, according to my judgment, we were still three hundred miles from the English coast, we were again overtaken by a dreadful storm. It began in the evening, and was at its height towards daybreak. It subsided in the afternoon, and we rejoiced at having come off so well; and as the wind at the same time became favourable, all our hopes revived. Not having slept the previous night, I went and lay down, in order to take a little rest. After reposing a few hours, I felt that the vessel began again to roll very much, from whence I inferred that the storm had commenced anew. I therefore arose and went upon deck. On going up the steps, I heard the captain raging and blustering like a madman, and calling upon the devil to take the ship to Amsterdam. I said to him, "Captain! what are you thinking of? By such conduct, you will deprive your people of all courage!" His answer was, "What's that to you? go to your locker; that's your place!" I was silent, for with all his stupidity, he was wicked and self-conceited, and presented, on all occasions, either a presumptuous or despairing character—a living picture of the corrupt human heart. It was fortunate for us, that both the steersman and the chief mate, in particular, were orderly and sensible people.

The storm had therefore recommenced, and the

captain hastened full of vexation into his hole again. It was impossible for me to sleep, because being in an open bed, I was incessantly tossed from one side to the other; I therefore arose, and placed myself at a table to which a light had been fastened, and began to read an English book, occasionally reading aloud to retain the English accent. At midnight the mate came, and beckoned me to come to the cabin-stairs to him. He requested me with tears to entreat the Lord to help us once more through the night; for it appeared to him that we must all perish. (He had heard from the captain with whom I had come from America that I was a preacher; I also conducted myself in such a manner amongst them, that they regarded me as something particular.) I sought to encourage him, and told him that I had often laid the matter before the Lord and besought him to preserve us, and that I placed my whole confidence in Him that he would bring us safe to land. This cheered him again. I then went with him on deck, and saw that the vessel was frequently struck by short seas. It was fortunate for us, that the ship was tolerably good and strong at her bows, otherwise she could not possibly have stood these gales. The whole crew were at the pumps, and could scarcely keep the water under. However, I believed that the storm had reached its height, from a phenomenon which I had frequently witnessed on my voyages to

the East Indies, which seamen call Castor and Pollux, and which is of the nature of ignis fatuus on land. On seeing it, I concluded from experience, that the storm would subside before daybreak. I therefore told the mate to use every precaution, and do all in his power for the preservation of the ship; I then confidently hoped that the Lord would help us through the danger.

The crew were all greatly enraged against the captain, chiefly from superstitious motives; for they believed that all the storms had been occasioned by his calling upon the devil. Their imaginations were also full of apparitions, which, as they said, prognosticated nothing good. However, it was as I anticipated. After spending some time in the cabin, when it was about daybreak, the storm subsided so completely, that there was scarcely any more wind. In this case the vessel generally rolls more than during the gale. Accordingly, it happened, that towards daybreak, a large wave struck the stern, and broke through the windows and shutters, so that the sea rushed in through all the apertures. I was sitting at a table not far from the windows, and was completely covered with water, whilst the book that was lying before me, was swept away. I hastened out of the cabin upon deck. The captain, who had been almost suffocated in his hole, came raging after me. When this danger was over, a sail was spread

across the stern of the ship and the window places strongly boarded up inside. The water which had streamed in, ran amongst the cargo, and was obliged to be pumped out again.

When taking our coffee the same morning, and speaking of this event, the captain said, "The d—— only knew what kind of books I was always reading; they could not understand a word of it, and he believed by my much reading, I had brought all their misfortunes upon them." But I paid no attention to any of his senseless speeches.

The wind now became favourable, and we sailed on with the pumps continually going until we judged, by the colour of the sea, that we were approaching land. Our log reckoning was of little or no value. We hove the lead, but found no bottom at a hundred fathoms. The next day we had ground at eighty fathoms. The sun shining at noon, we took an observation, and calculated that we were in the latitude of the English channel. The day following the fog was so dense, that we could scarcely see what was going on in the fore-part of the ship. We pursued our course with a favourable wind, but the fog continued as thick as before, and the water grew more and more shallow, which not a little perplexed us. The captain judged that we were still too far to the southward, and as the fog still continued, towards noon he ordered the helmsman to steer north-east-

ward, in order before evening to come in sight of the English coast. Evening came, but the fog continued as dense as before ; no land was to be seen, nor did we meet a single sail. Later on, it was determined to lie-to during the night, but after supper the captain told the mate he would set the topsail again, for he believed we were not so near the land. The mate, who was at variance with him, and had often quarrelled with him, replied, " Captain, you ought to know best ;" to which I added, that it was running a great risk. He said, there was no danger as yet. I answered, " Captain, when there is danger, it is generally too late." He was now entirely silent, but shortly afterwards went upon deck, and ordered the topsail to be set to the wind.

His orders were obeyed, and I thought to myself, " This cannot possibly end well." At eleven o'clock the captain had already crept into his berth ; but I stayed up till midnight, and requested the mate, before I lay down, to call me as soon as he perceived anything. On this I wrapped myself in my cloak, and lay down with my clothes on the bed, in order to be ready at the first call. At half-past two in the morning, the mate rushed into my cabin, exclaiming, " Fire and land !" I sprang out of bed, and ran upon deck ; the captain did the same. We saw the light, which was from a light-house ; but what was to be done in the night ? One said it was the light-house

of Ovesand, near Brest ; another, that it was the light-house at Land's-end. The captain stood there, and knew not how to act. At length he gave orders to sail away from the land ; but as we had come thither before the wind, we could not immediately retrace our steps, and therefore laid the ship close to the wind. I began now to think of my own safety, in case the vessel should strike. Two pieces of masts lay upon the deck, bound together, and fastened to rings in the ship. I hastened into the cabin, fetched a large knife, and placed it between these two masts for use in case of need. I thought to myself that I would stay there as long as a piece of the deck remained ; then cut the pieces of mast loose, and when all fell to pieces, let myself drift with them upon the sea ;—perhaps I might be cast ashore by the waves. But when I thought of the cold—for it was near Christmas—I was afraid I should perish with it before I reached the land. All were in fearful expectation of what would become of us. A sailor at the bow of the vessel now called out, “ Breakers a-head ! We are lost ! we are lost ! ” On hearing this, the captain was no longer master of himself, and cried out, “ O lads, it is over with us ! We are lost ! ” And began immediately from fear to vomit, so that he could not utter another word. Every one now began to cry out and lament aloud. One exclaimed, “ O my wife and children ! ” another in a different man-

ner. With respect to myself, I was in a state of calm abstraction, and resigned myself entirely to the Lord, who had brought me thus far ; at the same time I retained all my presence of mind, and thought how I could save myself.

There was no longer any one to command the vessel ; but the man at the helm saved the lives of us all. In his trepidation, he put the helm-a-lee, and the vessel, which otherwise was brought round with difficulty, veered about like an arrow. The mate, who was the most resolute, called out for help, and cut all the ropes loose, which held the sails that might have hindered the ship from coming about. I seized the staysail, and calling for assistance, we brought the ship about. As soon as this was done, I ran to the stern of the vessel to look at the breakers, which presented a very terrific appearance, and which seemed to be only about a stone's-throw from us. Before the vessel could be got round, she had approached pretty near them. If we had come quite into them, the ship, with all on board, would in all probability have been lost. The Lord, therefore, graciously rescued us once more, and preserved our lives, for which I filially and ardently thanked him with entire resignation of heart. We now proceeded with great caution, and, between fear and hope, came at length so far, that we no longer saw the light ; it was, therefore, to be expected, that

we had entirely escaped the danger, and saved our lives.

The captain now resumed his former arrogant tone, spoke of having seen and heard a ghost, and asked me if I had not heard it laugh at the mast-head, when it had so deceived us, and brought us into such distress? I replied, that I had been attentive to everything, but had neither seen nor heard anything of his ghost. But this I knew, that if he had not ordered the topsail to be set the evening before, the ghost might have laughed till it was tired; we should not have been in such danger. He turned about and was silent. In the morning we knew not where we had been, for the land was no longer in sight. We now sailed eastward with a favourable wind, and soon saw land again, the fog having considerably dispersed. After we had approached near enough, we perceived that it was Land's-end. We were very glad at ascertaining once more where we were, and that we might expect soon to reach a port of safety. We now also knew what land and light-house that was, near which we had been exposed to such imminent peril. They were the Scilly Isles, which lie at some distance from Land's-end, where there is also a light-house to warn vessels of danger. We now clearly perceived how strikingly we had experienced the divine protection; for by the thoughtless conduct of our captain, we had got between these islands in the

middle of the night and in a thick fog ; and it was, therefore, a wonder that we were not wrecked and lost. At this obvious interposition and deliverance, my heart was penetrated with fervent love and gratitude to God, and confirmed in its boundless confidence in him.

CHAPTER XLV.

Arrival at Portsmouth—Disagreement with the captain—The author leaves the vessel, and proceeds by another to Amsterdam.

WE now deliberated for which part we should steer; for the ship was no longer fit for sea, and it was greatly to be feared that if another storm arose it would sink; besides, the strength of the crew was quite exhausted by incessant pumping, and their hearts were discouraged. After some consultation, Portsmouth was selected for the reparation of the ship, and we arrived there in safety. We were obliged to pass through the large fleet lying there, with which Admiral Rodney was about to put to sea. The admiral's lieutenant came on board, and inquired for the captain's passports, which were shown him. After being asked if I were a passenger, and showing him my passport, all was in order, and we proceeded further. At the Isle of Wight, by the advice of our

pilot, we ran the ship into a dry dock. There lay, therefore, the vessel, which notwithstanding all its craziness, had brought me over a stormy ocean, through roaring winds and waves, into a port of safety. With a heart deeply affected by love, gratitude, and thankfulness, I looked upon it, and blessed once more the incomprehensibly faithful protection and preservation I had enjoyed from my dear and heavenly Father, who had hitherto helped me, and had done all things well.

The ship was discharged, and the cargo found entirely damaged. After being minutely examined by the carpenters, they declared her to be no longer seaworthy, because the hull was worn out. There were many who would gladly have undertaken the repairs, on which account they flattered the captain, took him on shore with them, and treated him sumptuously. He did not trouble himself about those on board in the least. After being some time on shore, and coming one day to the ship, I told him that I requested he would now furnish me with fresh provisions, for having paid so dearly for my passage, I wished to be treated as a passenger, and could no longer be content with the ship's fare; or else he might provide me with sufficient money to finish the voyage to Amsterdam, where he was bound to land me. But he began to curse and make a noise, and said I might go ashore, and live at my own expense

until he sailed again for Amsterdam, when I could go with him. On board the ship he would not provide me with anything but seaman's fare. Although I felt rather hurt at his rudeness, yet I clearly saw that nothing could be done with such a man, and that it would be best for me to leave the vessel. I resolved on this the more readily, because all subordination was at an end, so that there was daily fighting on board; thus everything combined to render me averse to remain.

When I was about to leave the ship, the mate took me aside, and begged me, when I arrived in Amsterdam, to bring an accusation against the captain, and appeal to the mate. He would be a witness for me, and we might then mutually bring his wickedness to light. But I replied, that I could not undertake such a thing, and that when once I had left such a worthless man, I should not trouble myself any further about him.

I went by the passage-boat to Portsmouth to inquire if there were any opportunity for Holland, and found a Dutch vessel at Gosport, which had lost its masts, but was now repaired, and would sail for Amsterdam with the first favourable wind. I spoke with the captain, agreed to pay him two guineas and a-half for the passage, and sent my luggage on board his vessel, which lying close to a bridge, afforded the means of going on shore when I pleased. I found

a passenger on board the vessel, who had come with it from St. Eustatia, but had been much better treated than I, although he had paid fifty florins less for his passage, and during the whole time the ship was being repaired the captain had treated him well. Both were astonished that my captain should have acted so basely towards me. But it was that I might learn to exercise patience under such treatment.

The wind being east, and as we could not proceed to Holland except with a westerly wind, I procured an introduction to a respectable mercantile house, who sent my bill on the Treasury for acceptance, with which I bought bills on Amsterdam, and felt grateful that everything succeeded so well.

The wind continued eastward almost all the winter, and even if it shifted to the west it soon changed again. On one of these occasions we put to sea, but were obliged to return. As the captain always dined on board, we wanted for nothing, except that we suffered from the cold, there being seldom fire on board the vessel, unless for the purposes of cooking.

At Portsmouth I gradually became acquainted with many good people, whom I frequently visited. Amongst these was a presbyterian preacher, a very exemplary man. His sermons also pleased me much better than those I heard in the Established Church. The people took great interest in hearing American news, and listened attentively when I related to them

events that had occurred there. I could here boldly state, that I had come from America by way of St. Eustatia.

Towards the beginning of the year, Admiral Rodney, with his fleet of thirty-six ships of the line, put to sea, and established once more the honour of England. He beat the Spaniards, provisioned Gibraltar, went from thence to the West Indies, conquered the French fleet, and took Admiral de Grasse prisoner. He that has once seen such a fleet set sail, and is in some measure acquainted with what takes place on such occasions, must confess that there cannot be a more grand and sublime spectacle.

It was not until the month of March, 1780, that the wind set in from the westward; we therefore took our departure from Portsmouth and sailed to Amsterdam. I arrived there in safety, the same month in which ten years before I came to Holland. During the whole of this long period, through divine goodness, I had always been in good health, with the exception of an occasional attack of a catarrhal fever. My heart overflowed afresh with filial gratitude towards my gracious heavenly Father, who had so wonderfully and lovingly guided, protected, and preserved me in the midst of so many sufferings and dangers, and brought everything to such an excellent conclusion. I was able now also heartily to rejoice in silent adoration and thankfulness, at all the dark

and painful paths, through which he had led me. I clearly saw, that without them I should never have been entirely brought into the divine order, and humbled under the divine will. But my divine Redeemer having enlarged my heart, satisfied my desires, and rendered me entirely dependent upon him, my heart overflowed with tranquil and silent gratitude to him. In such a state, thankfulness is expressed by acts of praise, words being insufficient. Deep in the spirit's centre is a temple, where Jesus, the divine Redeemer, is himself the high-priest and royal minister; there is the sanctuary, where the soul, brought back from the outer court of the senses, humbles itself in silent adoration before God, and offers up acts of love and gratitude, which are far more sublime than the most affecting language is able to express.

All the divine dispensations towards us eventually meet together in one point, which is, that "Christ be formed in us,"—conformity to him is the aim of the divine guidance here below. His mind and image become more and more deeply impressed upon the soul. His virtues and perfections by faith become hers; but it is only in him she possesses them; in herself she remains poor, and miserable, and naked. The individual perceives in himself no other virtues than such as have been obtained by grace. He is very far from ascribing the least of them to himself—no! Christ alone is his wisdom, righteousness, sanctification,

and redemption ; he is made of God unto him all these. He became his *wisdom*, when drawn by him, he abandoned himself, renounced the vain and foolish things of the world, and his own reason and wisdom, and placed himself as an humble scholar at his feet, to receive instructions from him, and by faith and prayer to draw him unto him. He was his *righteousness*, when in the deep and painful feeling of his boundless corruption he despaired of all his own polluted righteousness, and apprehended by faith the perfect and availing sacrifice of Christ. This took place at the beginning of his path, by repentance, and is continually repeated in its progress, by the daily mortification and denial of all that nourishes the life of self. Jesus becomes his *sanctification*. Without him all sanctification is a mere outside appearance, and of no value before God, because no other name is given under heaven or amongst men, whereby we can be saved. (Acts iv. 12.) But without holiness no one can see the Lord ; (Heb. xii. 24 ;) hence it follows, that no one will be acknowledged as holy who is not found in Jesus. He finally becomes the *redemption* of the soul, not only from the punishment of sin, but also from sin itself and its source, by means of the fellowship of his sufferings and death. He carries on his work, until the individual is able to say, " I am crucified and dead with Christ, and my life is hid with Christ in God." The soul has risen

with him and in him to a new life, and through him is united with the Deity; hence the man lives no longer in himself, but Christ lives in him. He has put on Christ, and through him, and in him, is become partaker of the divine nature. Christ then reigns freely and unlimitedly in the kingdom he has established, and is now *all in all*.

In such a state of mind, nothing that occurs from without can wholly disturb such a soul. It possesses a central or fundamental principle that always remains stedfast like an immoveable rock, against which all the waves and billows of the ocean dash and break in vain. Such an individual, being always satisfied with the order of God, can never be greatly disturbed by any circumstance; even if this order required of him to be amongst evil spirits, he would be quiet and content even there. The *present moment* in the order of God, is his resting-place and his happiness. It is true that many changes may and do take place in the sensible and intellectual part; but these are all superficial; they are like the waves of the sea which may beat and break upon this rock, but do not move it in the least. If the soul only continues in the divine order, neither the world nor hell can injure it. But if the individual were to undertake anything contrary to this order, he would be deprived of all serenity and satisfaction, fall into a painful and dreadful state, and find his way hedged up, and filled with thorns;

but if he perseveres notwithstanding, his sufferings are intolerable, and do not terminate until he submits himself in every respect, and again places himself under the divine order.

Such a one acts freely on all occasions; for he is not bounded or limited. His piety consists not in appearance, but in reality. He cannot assume the semblance of piety and devotion; all that does not consist with purity of intention and sincere uprightness of heart is put far from him. To become completely acquainted with such an individual, it is necessary to be very intimate with him. Although it would then be seen that he was still a man, and as such, had still his faults, yet it would also be seen that he did not seek to disguise his faults by a specious outside. He would candidly and sincerely confess that he had faults, and frequently committed them, and that, as man, he was not free from failings and weaknesses; yet that all these were contrary to his will and the whole bias of his soul, and had neither place nor stability in it. His weakness is fully known to him, whilst he knows little of the good he does or possesses. Godliness is become a habit and second nature to him. Many good and pious characters, who live in a constrained manner with the grace vouchsafed them, often take offence at such an individual, because they have no insight into his state and disposition, nor any knowledge of his principle

of liberty, and judge of them according to their own standing and feelings. But such a person passes by all these things, and lets every one judge of him as he pleases. It is sufficient for him to know in whom he believes, and he feels confident that He will keep what he has committed to him until the end, and then receive him wholly of his free grace, into his kingdom of peace.

CHAPTER XLVI.

The author writes to his parents—Returns home—Retired life
—Death of his parents—Division of the property—Removes to the house of a relative—Journeys to Holland—Domestic occupations.

ON my arrival at Amsterdam I learnt from friends of mine that my parents were still living. I wrote therefore to my father, and informed him that I had again arrived safely in Holland, and hoped soon to see him and my dear mother and sisters in good health. My father wrote in reply to say, that they were all well, and rejoiced at the prospect of seeing me again. I could not, however, leave Amsterdam immediately, because of the several commissions given me to execute. The bills which I had brought with me on Mr. Franklin, the American ambassador at Paris, were sent thither, and returned accepted, so that I could procure money for them in Amsterdam. I bought goods according to order, with the money

entrusted to me, made them up into two packages, and wrote to my friends in Baltimore respecting them. I insured the goods as far as St. Eustatia, and wrote to my correspondent there, to send the packages by different vessels to Baltimore. I afterwards received intelligence that they had arrived in safety at St. Eustatia, but that one of the vessels was taken on the voyage to Baltimore by the English. I next established commercial connexions at Amsterdam with my friends in Baltimore, and hastened to terminate everything that might still delay my departure.

When all was regulated, I left Amsterdam towards the end of the month of May, 1780, and arrived safe and well in the beginning of June at my native place. The meeting and the welcome after a ten years' absence, was extremely pleasing, cordial, and affecting to all of us; and I thanked God with profound and heartfelt gratitude and adoration, for having brought me in safety back again.

I did not give myself out for a preacher, knowing that he who has not studied at an university is not acknowledged or esteemed as such in Europe. But if any one asked me whether I had been a preacher in America I always answered in the affirmative, for I had not disgraced my office.

I found little real religion left amongst those that had been formerly awakened here. Some had joined themselves to particular individuals, others had given

themselves up to alchemy. In short, the most of them had acted so wildly, that they had entirely deviated from the track of truth, and had almost lost every trace of goodness—nay, many of them were even ashamed of it, and refused to hear anything more about it.

I now lived very quietly and retired in my father's house, waiting for the termination of the war between England and the United States, which however did not take place so soon as I had expected. The summer passed away in reading and solitary walks, particularly to those places where, in former years, I had enjoyed such frequent and blissful communications of divine influence, and likewise many painful and afflictive seasons. In the autumn I travelled to Solingen, Wald, Mühlheim on the Rhur, Elberfeld and Burmen, to visit my friends there once more. They now made me heartily welcome, and testified much affection and friendship. But they could not comprehend why I wished to return to America, and they did not know what to think of me and my journey. However, they expressed their satisfaction at seeing me once more, but in other respects quietly resigned me to God and my fate. I travelled home again, pleased with my journey, and thought of spending the winter with my parents, in the hope of peace being restored in the spring.

In January, 1781, it pleased God to take my dear

father out of this world. I shed tears of filial affection over him. He was a venerable old man, who spent his old age in repose and devout meditations. My mother did not survive him many months ; for she died in May of the same year, both being upwards of seventy years of age. My mother's dissolution touched me extremely. She had always been kind and gentle towards me. I admired the dealings of the wise and gracious providence of God, which had so ordered it, that shortly before the death of my parents I should return from America to be present at their dissolution.

With respect to the property they left, I was cut very short ; my father had previously made over the steel foundry and the greatest part of his property, together with the houses he possessed, to my brother and sisters, who were all married, whilst I had been entirely overlooked. My father was desirous of spending his old age in peace, and hence he assigned his property to his children during his life ; retaining still a sufficient income from his office as lieutenant of the district, and from what remained after the division of his estates. After my parents' decease, I received my proportion of what was still to divide. Being anxious to preserve peace, and preferring rather to be cut short than have any disputes with the family, I made no other attempt to procure a share of the remaining property, than by speaking to my sisters and

brothers-in-law, and telling them that it was unjust to exclude me from the inheritance. Some of them indeed assented, but said that it could not now be altered. I then demanded something in money, but my brothers-in-law made many difficulties. At length they agreed to give me a moderate sum, which I consented to accept, that I might leave them again in peace, although it fell far short of what was justly my due.

I fixed my temporary residence with my sister, who occupied the paternal mansion, and longed for the restoration of peace, in order to return to America; but as the Dutch were now involved in the war, there was no longer any immediate prospect of that desired event. Having no occupation, I employed myself in preparing a terrestrial globe of two feet and a half in diameter. The following winter, I completed it, but not entirely to my satisfaction.

I had a distant relative in Elberfeld, who, with his consort, led a retired and religious life. The particular friendship they bore towards me arose more from this motive than from any relationship, and this was also the reason why I took up my abode with them on my last journey to that place. This relative of mine was a merchant and manufacturer, and carried on business in company with his brother-in-law. Their clerk, who also travelled for them, formed a resolution to seek his fortune in the West Indies, and

was on the point of taking his departure. On which my relative wrote to me to inquire if I had any wish to undertake the vacant situation, offering me at the same time very reasonable terms. But such a project was totally in opposition to the bias of my mind ; besides which, my inclination to return to America was so great, that it would have preponderated, even if I had liked the situation. I therefore replied that I could not accept the offer, because I was firmly resolved to return to America as soon as peace should be concluded.

Towards the end of February, I received another letter, in which my relative requested me to come at all events and reside with them ; for since my parents were dead, I should still be obliged to live at my own expense. He further informed me that his partner intended proceeding to Holland towards the end of March, and wished that I would accompany him. In other respects I might dwell with him quietly ; and if peace should be made, and I then wished to return to America, they would not oppose it ; but if I preferred remaining, it would be equally agreeable to them. I found this an acceptable offer, and resolved to remove thither, and remain till peace should be concluded.

In March, 1782, I arrived therefore in Elberfeld, and met with a friendly reception. I set off soon after with my relative's partner for Holland. My travelling companion was a very kind and agreeable

man, in whose company I took pleasure, and who also led a religious life. I did not concern myself particularly about his affairs, but was pleased when they prospered. The principal depôt of their manufactures was in Rotterdam, and hence we were obliged to remain there for some time. When I was formerly there, on my way to America, I did not venture to visit the friends residing there, because of my afflicted state of mind at the time. But now, this being changed, I purposed seeking them out. They were four in number, and all of them elderly persons, with whom I subsequently became still more intimate. After my return to Elberfeld, I again visited all my friends in those parts. Every one now manifested cordial friendship and affection towards me, and many of them were much pleased that I had come to dwell in their neighbourhood. But no sooner did I speak of returning to America, when peace should be restored, than it displeased them, and many of them said, they would hold me so fast that I should be prevented from going thither.

A journey to Holland was undertaken generally thrice a year in the business of the manufactory. When the time drew near for the next journey, my relative's partner was suffering from the gout, by which he was frequently attacked. My relative himself had never travelled on business, and having no children, and being able to live without business, he

would rather have given up everything than have undertaken the journey. There was consequently no other alternative than that I should consent to do so. I accordingly undertook it, and accomplished it to their satisfaction. From that period I travelled three times a year to Holland ; but after returning home, and rendering an account of the business I had transacted, I troubled myself no farther about it, and took scarcely any part in their other affairs.

My relative had an excellent library, in which I found an abundance of good books. Amongst others I met with the universal history of the world, which I read through, and by which I attained a more complete knowledge of history. There being still no appearance of peace I commenced preparing another globe of three feet in diameter. This was much more perfect than the first, but required also much labour, minuteness, and ingenuity. Cook's three voyages of discovery, with all that he and others have contributed with respect to geographical knowledge, were delineated upon it. It being necessary to draw the maps upon the globe, the labour was immense ; but as I shunned a state of inactivity, no trouble was too fatiguing for me.

Meanwhile I became so closely connected with many friends, that I no longer ventured to tell them I intended to return to America, for they believed it to be the will of God that I should remain at home ;

since he could make use of me for his glory there, as well as if I were a preacher in America. I was urged so frequently upon this point, that I at length said, that if the Lord opened a door there for my sufficient support, I would be content to remain. Through divine assistance I could always promise myself a certain income in America, but at home the prospects were gloomy. All this, however, at length gradually caused me to waver in my resolution to return to America. The bonds of love and friendship began to bind me more and more closely to my native land, so that I began to foresee that what my friends predicted would be fulfilled—that they would hold me so fast as to prevent me from returning to America. If a feeling of anxiety occasionally came over me in this state of mind, my inward impression always was, “Be careful for nothing: commit thyself to Providence; when the time comes that it is necessary, thou wilt be provided for.” This tranquillised me. I committed everything to God, and besought him to overrule all things in such a manner as would be most conducive to his glory and my good.

CHAPTER XLVII.

Resolves on remaining in Europe—Travels yearly to Holland—Remarks on intercourse with pious people—A pious lady settles an annuity upon him.

ABOUT this time the long-expected peace was concluded, the basis of which was the recognition of the American states by the English. At this intelligence the inclination to remove to America, which had been so often combated by my friends, and become weakened by the length of time, revived. But as all my intimate friends unceasingly advised me not to return, and firmly believed it to be the will of God that I should remain in Germany, I at length resolved to yield to their urgent solicitations, turn away my thoughts entirely from the matter, and wait to see what it would please the Lord to do with me further. I had sufficient property left to have defrayed the expenses of the voyage to America, but insufficient

for my residence in Germany for any length of time. But from whence was I to derive a subsistence after it was all expended? I saw no other alternative of maintaining myself than by entering into business, and this was directly opposed to my wishes; to this I had such an invincible disinclination, that I would rather have returned to America, although I performed the journeys for my relative with a tranquil and willing heart; I was also treated in his house in the most friendly manner, and wanted for nothing; but I could not reckon upon always remaining in that house. However, my mind was at ease in the intention to continue there for the present, until some intimation of the will of God should otherwise dispose of me. I therefore continued to perform the journeys to Holland as before, but interfered no further in the business, and endeavoured to retain my liberty. The journeys occupied almost the half of the year.

One of our ministers came one day to our house, and asked me if I had been a preacher in America? I answered in the affirmative, and that I had been ordained for that purpose. He inquired further, whether that was my name, which stood in the Dutch list of ministers? I replied that if the name of Stahlschmidt occurred in it, it had reference to me. Afterwards, on looking through the catalogue of reformed preachers, I found that it was the case. But

as, in consequence of the war, no acts of the Coetus in America had reached Holland, it was not until the year 1781 or 1782, when I was no longer preacher in America, that my name was included in the list. I have never had reason to feel ashamed of my office or to deny it, because I am not conscious of having disgraced it. But having now resolved to remain in Europe, I entirely renounced the idea of ever again filling such an office. Still I felt willing and ready to let the Lord make use of me whenever he might afford me an opportunity of contributing anything to his glory, and the honour of his name.

I was now living on terms of intimacy with many pious and awakened individuals; but it was here that I learnt to associate with them in such a manner as to be of service instead of a hindrance and obstruction to them in the divine life. He, whose sole object is the honour and glory of God, will be kept in due humility and lowliness by the consciousness of his failings and infirmities, and by the fundamental principle within him, because by these he is convinced that all he does is very imperfect, and that he is incapable of anything good. Hence it always appeared strange and inexplicable to me, that any one should commend himself to others as a guide and counsellor, or wish to be regarded as such. It is true, that it is incumbent upon every one to employ the gifts and graces which the

Lord has vouchsafed to him, for the good of his brethren ; but his primary duty is to apply them for the benefit of his own soul. If this application of them to others is not done in a very humble and modest manner, the most dangerous consequences often result from it. Certainly much light and great knowledge and experience is requisite to prevent doing an injury to those whom we desire to benefit. That I have acted in this respect more passively than actively, is known to all who are acquainted with me. I have often been obliged to suffer reproach from many brethren for being so backward, and they frequently urged me to seek a closer intimacy with pious people. But I am too well aware, that what we suppose we are doing to the glory of God, is not so pure in its motive as we imagine, and in this respect, the individual frequently sacrifices more to his own idol than to the Lord. Those whose office it is to labour at the advancement of souls, and whose duty calls upon them to give advice and instruction where their vocation leads them, are certainly under obligations, on every opportunity that presents itself, to employ the light and grace which the Lord has bestowed upon them for the benefit of their congregations. But let them often examine, in the presence of the Lord, whether their actions and intentions have the sole end of glorifying God in Jesus Christ, and that souls may be brought to him. I have often had to experience

it in myself, as well as perceived it in others, that our motives are not always the purest. If we bring all our actions into the pure light of Deity, how much of our best endeavours puts us to the blush ! Still it would not be well that we should abstain from laying out our talent to usury, until we could do so in a perfect manner ; that would not be acting faithfully. But this does not diminish the importance of the rule, that in all that we do, particularly in charitable and religious matters, we ought to be much upon our guard ; because we easily think more highly of ourselves on such occasions, and generally form too lofty conceptions of what we think we do to the glory of God,—by which spiritual pride is nourished. I am now entirely divested of the idea of being able to impart anything as from myself ; hence I seek to cleave only to him who is willing to work in us what may conduce to his glory. I would gladly work, act, and give advice, where it is especially demanded of me, and where I am impelled to it by the Lord as an obligation, although even then, I am still conscious that my actions are not entirely pure. I do not desire to resist the Lord, but to let him use me as an instrument in his hand ; and am willing and ready to contribute to the promotion of his glory, whatever may be the result. But I am quite as satisfied in him, if he declines using me for any purpose. My God in Jesus Christ is to me an all-sufficient and eternally satisfy-

ing good, irrespective of all created things. Nor do I think that in this respect I can be accused of slothfulness or spiritual idleness; my biography proves the contrary.

By my frequent journeys, I became more and more intimately acquainted with the christian friends in Rotterdam. Amongst them was a lady, who seldom entered into conversation with me, and I had hitherto had no opportunity of conversing with her in particular. After being two years acquainted with the friends above-mentioned, she commissioned a friend to bring me to her house with him, that she might become better acquainted with me. He did so, and we conversed long and cordially together. I found more in her than I could ever have expected, and was astonished at her state of mind and particular guidance. And because I was equally open-hearted towards her, she was as much surprised at my statement, with respect to the path of godliness in which I had been led. With this dear friend I now entered into a more intimate and confidential acquaintance, and visited her twice a week as often as I came to Rotterdam. In our conversations together, she inquired very minutely into all the particulars of my situation, but never gave me the least intimation of what she intended to do for me.

After having travelled to Holland in this manner for the space of nearly four years, and being again in

Rotterdam, I came one wintry day to visit this lady, whilst I was suffering from a severe cold and cough. She observed, that travelling would in future become more and more irksome to me, as I was now advancing in years. I replied, that I did not dare to reflect upon the subject, because in that case I should only place myself in a state of painful anxiety, and out of the divine order. If I limited myself to the present moment, I was satisfied, but if I looked at the future, and considered how it might fare with me, I suffered uneasiness, and my inward peace was broken. On this she asked me how much I required for my yearly expenditure. I mentioned a moderate sum. She then for the first time stated her intention of providing for my support, and said that she would secure as much to me annually as I, required. It may easily be supposed, that, in my situation, such an offer necessarily filled my heart with gratitude towards God and this dear friend. I therefore answered, that if the Lord was willing to employ her as the instrument of affording me a subsistence, I would gratefully receive it as from the hand of his providence; but, at the same time, returned her my heartfelt thanks as the worthy medium for this extraordinary proof of her kindness and good intentions. On this, she gave me a document written in her own hand, adding, that in case she died before me, I was also provided for. She made the condition, how-

ever, that I should come thither every year and visit her and the other friends. I accordingly did so, until it pleased the Lord, in the year 1793, to take this dear devoted soul to himself, in the seventieth year of her age. She had experienced and passed through much in the path through which the Lord had led her, and by means of various sufferings and trials, had laid a deep foundation of godliness in Christ Jesus. Notwithstanding she was rich in temporal things, yet she was a true follower of Jesus, and gave abundantly to the poor and the needy. She now rests in the Lord, in peace.

Some days before Christmas, I returned from this memorable journey, but said nothing at home of what had fallen out for my benefit in Rotterdam. About the beginning of the new year, my relation conversing with me one evening, said, that he and his brother-in-law, during my journey, had decided upon separating; in consequence of which he should, next May, give up the manufactory to the latter, who would then carry it on for his own account; adding, that it might probably not suit me to travel for him in future. I now revealed to him what had occurred in my favour, during my last journey to Rotterdam. Both he and his wife presented me their hands, and heartily wished me happiness that the Lord had so ordered it, and provided for me so paternally.

In the spring of the year 1787, I terminated my

last commercial journey, and took with me another person, who was in future to travel for Mr. R——, for the purpose of introducing him to their connexions in Rotterdam. On my return, I was asked how much I demanded for my four years' services; for hitherto nothing had been said upon the subject: for having still money of my own, and not wishing to incur obligation, the matter was left untouched. I answered the gentlemen, that having only travelled for them and retained the rest of the time for myself, I knew not what I ought to ask, and therefore left it entirely to their discretion. On this they offered me a sum of money with which I was very well satisfied.

I now removed from my relative's house, where I had enjoyed much friendship, and went to reside in apartments at a friend's. But not to be without occupation, I began to make two more globes of between nine and ten feet in circumference. This gave me employment for some years; at the same time I gave instruction to some young people in geography. In other respects, I spent my time in reading and meditation, and especially in the adoration and service of Him who had so far led and guided me in such a wonderful, and, at the same time, such a kind and gracious manner.

I am unable to say much more respecting my inward state. I will only mention, that after the period of suffering I had endured, I still had much to pass

through, and have not been devoid of afflictions, faults, and weaknesses, although I remained unmoved as regards my fundamental principle. I have also experienced much in associating with others. He that seeks to walk before God in all sincerity and purity, attains to a greater knowledge of himself as well as of others. According to the whole tendency of my being, I endeavour to resign and give myself up entirely to the good pleasure of my God in Jesus Christ, that he may do with me whatever he pleases. The great truth, that God in Jesus is all, and the creature considered in itself and without him, a pure nothing, is more and more deeply impressed upon me, and I become more and more conscious of it by daily experience. This knowledge and experience have also conducted me more and more to the origin of my being and existence, and have expanded my immortal spirit, which is tranquillised and satisfied in its God, whom it can regard in Jesus, as its dear Father.

CHAPTER XLVIII.

The author's thoughts on writing his biography—Inquiry whether his guidance has been that of a true Christian and according to Scripture—Reflections upon the object of the christian religion and the natural state of man—Regeneration—Idea of true christian liberty and perfection.

I HAVE now presented to my readers the internal and external history of my life. I could, indeed, have added much more respecting my inward guidance, but I have already said sufficient for critics to rank me amongst enthusiasts and fanatics. I cannot, indeed, take this amiss of them, nor call upon them to approve of that, of which they understand nothing, and which they have never experienced; for "the natural man perceiveth nothing of the things of the Spirit of God, they are foolishness unto him, neither can he know them." It is sufficient for me, that my immortal spirit has found real and beatifying satisfac-

tion on the path by which the Lord has graciously led me. If any one knows another way by which he can find this invaluable treasure, I heartily wish him a prosperous journey.

My pilgrimage, indeed, has been rather painful and tempestuous, and few travellers will be found, who have trodden such paths as I have been obliged to pass through, both inwardly and outwardly; nor must the reader suppose that I wish to present my history as the exclusively correct travelling-chart, suitable and requisite for all my fellow-travellers. By no means! God guides his children according to his good pleasure, and according as he perceives, in his superior wisdom, that it will best promote their salvation according to the circumstances of each; although in other respects, there is but one way to fellowship with God, in which all other ways must unite—I mean that which is pointed and opened out to us in Jesus and through Jesus, by thorough repentance, faith, and self-denial. I have written my history only in consequence of the kind and reiterated entreaties of my friends. If any one finds anything in it, which is suitable for him, let him take it to himself, and employ it by the grace of God for the promotion of his salvation. But if he finds nothing of this kind in it, it is likewise well. I do not wish to urge either my experience and religious views, or the manner of my guidance, upon any one. Let every

one take heed how he walks, and observe whether he is building silver and gold, or wood, hay, and stubble, upon Jesus Christ, the sure foundation. I have only described the way in which the Lord has led me in particular; it is not a way for all my fellow-pilgrims, as little as Stilling's* manner of guidance, or that of Eugenius in his "Nostalgia." However, I confidently hope and expect, that something will occasionally be found in the relation of my pilgrimage, which may afford some encouragement to fellow-travellers not to let their courage fail, nor to cast away their confidence because of the afflictions they meet with. The felicity which awaits us is too great, and the glory which shall be revealed in us too transcendent, to be compared with the sufferings which do or may befall us.

Even here below, a heart devoted to God experiences an inward peace of soul in the midst of its trials, afflictions, and distresses, which is infinitely more valuable and consolatory than the enjoyments of those who seek their portion in this life. The soothing consciousness of walking under the divine guidance, and of being in the divine order, produces a peace of mind, which surpasses all the pleasures and delights of sense, and which certainly no soul would exchange for them, which has had the happiness to taste it. I am able publicly to testify, that in the

* See Heinrich Stilling—his childhood, youthful years, &c.

way in which my Jesus has led 'me, although weary and laden with manifold infirmities, I have found, by his grace, and according to his promise, rest and satisfying felicity ; and that is enough for me !

In the various storms by which I was assailed, my prospects were often dubious and dangerous ; but by the gracious assistance of my pilot, I still held fast by the anchor of hope and the helm of faith, and thus found at length, with his aid, a port of rest and peace, in which my anchor—yea, my all, as I hope to his grace and goodness, will continue fastened, both here and for evermore. But should it please the Lord, before my departure, to purify me still more in the furnace of suffering and affliction, I hope, from his mercy, that he will continue to bestow upon me what is needful—that he will hold me fast, and never suffer my believing confidence in him, not even in extremity and death, to be shaken ! May he who is the faithful and gracious God, grant it for his mercy's sake !

I thank thee, my all-sufficient and everlasting Jesus, with filial and heartfelt gratitude, for having called and drawn such a sinner to thyself, and for having so wonderfully led and guided me ! Thou hast been the author and the finisher of my faith. It is upon thy promise that I have trusted and placed all my confidence. Thou hast brought everything to a blissful and glorious conclusion. When I look

back upon my faults and infirmities, and then revert to thy long-suffering love and paternal care, I am compelled, with a deeply humbled, loving, and thankful heart, to exclaim, "Yes, my Jesus, thou hast done all things well. In thy atoning sacrifice, I found the forgiveness of all my sins; but this was not enough; thou wast willing to lead me on still further. Before I had a being thou wast made of God thy Father unto me wisdom, righteousness, and sanctification, and now thou hast also become my redemption; for in the fellowship of thy sufferings thou hast redeemed me, and united my spirit in thee with the Deity. In this union, O my Jesus! thou hast granted rest and blissful contentment to my spirit. O what shall I, what can I bring thee, O thou altogether lovely one, for all thy benefits! what thanks, what gratitude, shall I offer thee! Ah! I have nothing, am nothing, and can do nothing of myself. Therefore, be thou all in all in me! Let my spirit be thy subordinate temple, in which thou thyself glorifiest thy name. My all be anew given up to thee! I am thy ransomed one! Thine will I remain both now and for ever.

"Unto thee, my Redeemer, together with the Father and the Holy Spirit—my triune God—be honour, and adoration, and glory ascribed by me and all thy redeemed, both here and in all eternity. Amen."

I have several times stated, that it has pleased God to grant my weary and heavy-laden soul rest and satisfaction in coming to him, upon the path I have described in the history of my life. I will now endeavour to show something more fully, as the Lord shall grant me grace, light, and ability, whether this way, which I did not take from my own conviction or according to my own will, but was guided into it by the Lord, is the path of a true Christian, and included and pointed out in the holy scriptures, which contain the revelation of the will and purpose of the Almighty with respect to man.

It is here neither the place, nor in accordance with my object, to examine why the holy scriptures are comparatively so little known to the nations upon earth. Eternal wisdom will at length justify itself before all men, so clearly and convincingly, that all the world will see that all its ways and dispensations were just and true. I have at present only those in view, to whom God has made known this revelation of his will. This revelation at present exists only for those who have the christian name—not for any particular party or class of them, but for each and every one, of whatever station and sentiments he may be. It is, therefore, for the unconverted, as well as for those who are the recipients of divine grace, for the more or less advanced in sanctification, as well as for those who, in the scripture sense of the term,

are denominated perfect. For all these different classes of persons, the holy scriptures must be useful, and they are so to every one who seeks to derive benefit from them. In more minute reference to true Christians, they tell us that there are children, young men, and fathers in godliness. For all these, there must be instruction, doctrine, and nutriment to be found in them, suited to their different states and necessities ; and all this may be found in them ; they are a rule and standard for all.

The following is the sum and substance of the holy scriptures :—

“ God created man pure and holy, according to his own image, but in his wisdom found it necessary to put him to the test. Man did not stand the trial, but by disobedience turned from God, and thereby fell under the dominion of sin, and into a wretched and miserable condition. God was unwilling to leave man in this fallen state. He loved him so much, that he sent his only-begotten Son into the world, that through him fallen man might be restored. He was to redeem him from the depth of his sin and misery, and from his lost estate ; by him the image of God was to be restored in man ; and mankind, through him, were to receive salvation and eternal life by accepting him as their Mediator and Redeemer, and by following his example. The Son of God will also at length raise up their bodies from the

grave, and sit in judgment at the end of the world upon all the actions of men, and pronounce the sentence of salvation or damnation upon all men."

This is the principal doctrine and object of the Bible. In the Old Testament it took its commencement in the promised seed of the woman, and was continued by additional promises, sacrifices, and types, and everywhere pointed out. In the New Testament, this important doctrine is still more clearly contained, and everything completed in Jesus Christ, the God-man, the centre of all the previous ordinances of God. What the scriptures otherwise contain are narratives, which have reference to this principal point; testimonies and proofs of their divine origin, and directions respecting the way in which we must walk, and the duties which must be fulfilled, if we are desirous of being delivered by this divine Mediator out of our wretched and sinful state. Its directions, instructions, and admonitions, all tend to a godly life, for the attainment of the object above mentioned—that of restoring fallen man, through Christ, to fellowship with God. Hence it follows, that if man had not fallen from God, the redemption through Christ would not have been necessary. But the latter being the case, it must aim chiefly at that for which it became necessary. And this is purposed and accomplished by this glorious and wonderful redemption through Christ in the most extensive sense. "For if through the

offence of one, many be dead, much more the grace of God and the gift by grace which is by one man, Jesus Christ, hath abounded unto many." (Rom. v. 15.) The Redeemer says himself, that he is the way, the truth, and the life, and that no one can come to the Father but by him. He and his apostles tell us, that Jesus came into the world to reconcile man unto God, and to redeem him from sin and iniquity; but also that we, as reconciled through him, our Redeemer, should be again brought into fellowship and union with God, our gracious and heavenly Father, that God in Christ, according to the rights of creation, may be again loved, honoured, and glorified by his creatures. This was the object of the creation, and is also the object of the redemption by Christ.

We will, therefore, now examine what paths the holy scriptures point out for the accomplishment of this end, that God may be again honoured, loved, and glorified by his creatures.

Jesus, as the medium of reconciliation, and as he who blotteth out our sins, calls unto all those that are weary and heavy-laden with the burden of their sins, saying, "Come unto me! I will give you rest. Take my yoke upon you, and ye shall find rest unto your souls." (Matt. xi. 28, 29.) The invitation is, therefore, to all that are weary, and the result, the certain repose of our souls, if we come to him ac-

according to his promise ; but all the events which befall the sinner, and every step of the way in coming to Jesus, are not expressly stated to us ; for if the holy scriptures had laid down only one mode of guidance, and very fully described it as the only way of salvation, those who had not attained to rest and peace in the same manner, would have reason to doubt their state of grace. But the holy scriptures only state the matter in general terms ; they tell us to whom we must come, and what means we ought to employ to attain to him ; whilst the feelings, temptations, and trials which occur to every soul in particular on the way to Christ, are only mentioned in a general way ; there is also as great a difference in them as there is in the tempers and dispositions of mankind. Hence, according to the plan of divine wisdom, the word of God is a testimony for all, and a treasury and storehouse, in which every one, according to his peculiar necessities, may find instruction, counsel, consolation, and other spiritual support. The holy scriptures only furnish us with the principal point of the counsel and will of God, but they do this in such a copious manner, that every one may individually find in them all that can satisfy him in time and eternity.

It is the doctrine of the holy scriptures, that we must be converted, feel sin, as lost sinners, heartily repent of it, and, under its oppressive burden, come

to Christ that we may be reconciled to God, and redeemed from sin, and that this Saviour of sinners is willing to redeem us from our sinful state, and reinstate us in the divine favour. But they also teach, that we must not rest satisfied with having laid the foundation of the edifice ; they instruct us, that upon this foundation a house or temple must be built by the Spirit of Jesus, in which God will fix his habitation. Hence they also exhort and urge it upon us, in consequence of possessing these great promises, to purify ourselves from all pollution of the flesh and spirit, and perfect holiness in the fear of God. They testify that nothing impure enters into the New Jerusalem—that only they that are pure in heart shall see God—and that without holiness no man can see the Lord. Paul also prays for the believing Ephesians, “ that the God of our Lord Jesus Christ, the Father of glory, might give unto them the spirit of wisdom and revelation in the knowledge of him, the eyes of their understanding being enlightened, that they might know what is the hope of his calling, and what the riches of the glory of his inheritance in the saints, and what is the exceeding greatness of his power to us-ward who believe according to the working of his mighty power.” Who does not see from this passage, that Paul has here something great and sublime in view for the believers to whom he wrote—something, to the knowledge of which they had

still to come, and to the possession of which they had yet to attain? Certainly "the riches of the glory of his inheritance," and the manifestation "of the working of his mighty power in his saints," implies something more than the primary enlightening of repentance, and the forgiveness of sins that are past.

Further; true worshippers of the Father must worship him in spirit and in truth. Believers ought to attain to such a state, as to be able to say with Paul, "We all, with open face, beholding as in a glass the glory of the Lord, are changed into the same image, from glory to glory, even as by the Spirit of the Lord." God will dwell in believers, and walk in them. They are to be made partakers of the divine nature. "He that loveth me," saith Jesus, "keepeth my word, and my Father will love him, and we will come unto him, and make our abode with him." Those, therefore, who thus love the Lord, and cleave to him, become one spirit with him. "I live," says the apostle, "yet not I, but Christ liveth in me," &c. These, and a number of other testimonies and promises, which he who reads his Bible may easily find, God has left upon record in his word for his people, and shown them the state to which they ought to attain, and whither he is willing to bring them, when, renouncing all things, they resign themselves entirely to him. But God has pointed out in his word only a general way to arrive at this stage of the divine life;

yet still, every one may always find support and direction in it according to his particular necessities. It is enough that God has revealed to us that to which he is willing to bring his people ; his word and Spirit will lead them into all truth, although often through dark and unknown paths. He is the best acquainted with the roads by which he must guide every one, to attain the aim and reach the prize, which he has proposed and promised in his word.

But our Saviour and his apostles also show us, that the way by which we are to come to Christ, and through Christ be reconciled unto God ; the way by which we are to be sanctified and restored to blissful fellowship with God, is a way of suffering and mortification. Jesus, our Saviour, the Captain of our salvation, has opened out to us this way, and preceded us upon it. He has thereby made it a royal highway, and commands all his disciples to follow him upon it. No other is pointed out to us through the whole of the New Testament. It is everywhere said of this way, that in following Jesus we must deny ourselves, suffer with Christ, and be crucified and die with him. The old man must die and decay, but the new man be raised up, walk with Christ in newness of life, and become a partaker of the divine nature—nay, even one Spirit with God. Paul tells us that he was dead, and was crucified with Christ. He had, therefore, died to himself and the life of self in the

fellowship of the sufferings of Jesus. Hence, also, he could say, that he no longer lived, but that Christ lived in him. Similar expressions to these are frequently used by the apostle. He knew Jesus, and the power of his resurrection, and the fellowship of his sufferings. He sought to be conformed to his death, and to rise with him to a new life. His life, and that of believers who thus die, is hid with Christ in God. This is one of the apostle Paul's chief doctrines, to this he had attained, and to this he wished to see his believing brethren brought. If Paul, that chosen instrument of God, had left us a full and copious history of his life, we should have a much clearer insight into the methods which the Lord employed to bring him to the state which he so frequently mentions in his epistles to the believing churches, and in which he urges them to attain the same aim.

But it was not the intention of God to leave us a biography which should serve us under all circumstances as a rule and a standard. He did not wish that his children should be formed according to a human pattern irrespective of Christ, which so many would have done in consequence of their respect for the apostles, and the inclination in man to imitate others; but they were to keep their eye fixed solely upon the aim, and trust exclusively to his providence and his daily and momentary assistance with respect

to the means of attaining to it. The Lord did not permit that, in a book which was to serve as a standard for mankind in every age, anything more should be expressed than what was needful for us in general, and for each, in particular, according to his existing circumstances. He has sufficiently revealed to us whither he designs eventually to bring the pardoned sinner through Christ, but the methods he thinks fit to employ are reserved in his wisdom. It is impossible that these can be the same with every individual; for education, circumstances, rank, and the events of life, are always very different. Hence the sufferings which a soul meets with on this way are naturally not of the same kind. They are as various as the tempers, dispositions, abilities, and strength of mind and body are different. Besides this, souls that are called and have obtained forgiveness are not all destined to the same rank and station in the kingdom of God; since all the members of the same body have not all the same functions, although governed by one spirit. The holy scriptures express themselves sufficiently clearly upon this point in many places. The reader is referred, for instance, to 1 Cor xii. The parable of the talents (Matt. xxv. 15—18) contains likewise a profound meaning with reference to this.

Every one who manifests fidelity in that which God requires of him, will be prepared by his Spirit

in such a manner, as to be suitable to the place, state, and occupation for which God has destined him, and his desire after happiness will be satisfied in that station. I have never, as far as I remember, asserted in my history, that the path by which the Lord has led me is the universal path by which all Christians ought to be led. • I have not done so, because my divine Guide has given me experience enough to know, that I ought not to do so. But I find it incumbent upon me to place the path by which I have been led as much as possible in a conspicuous light, in order to show, that it is founded on the holy scriptures, and harmonises with their object and their aim ; at the same time, I willingly leave every one, who does not approve of it, to his own views and convictions, and especially such as reject all conviction.

The venerable De Monces says, in his Letters upon the Nine Watchers of the Protestant Church, “ I believe that much is requisite in order to perfect love, and that few even amongst good Christians ascend this height here below ; that, consequently, between the lowest seat on which the novices in religion sit, and the highest, to which those that are perfect in love belong, there are many intermediate seats.”

It is not reasonable, nor does it reflect any honour on our most holy religion, when the individual abides only by the fundamentals of Christianity, and therefore

brings various accusations against those who feel within themselves an attraction and vocation to apprehend Jesus, not only as the author, but also as the finisher of their faith, and seek to render them suspected by others, as if they were no real Bible Christians—as if they passed by the doctrine of the atonement, or Jesus and his merits, and the like. This is a calumny, and does, as already observed, no honour to the religion of Jesus. Truly, the intentions of God in the work of redemption cannot be otherwise than great. Yes, they are great, sublime, and certainly much more extensive than a soul that is only a novice, or that has even made some progress, can possibly suppose and anticipate.

We are to be translated by Christ into a much more glorious state than that which we lost in Adam. For since by the fall we are in a state in which we know what is good and what is evil, or by which the knowledge of good and evil has developed itself in us by lamentable experience—it tends much more to the honour and glory of God, that he has restored such backsliders by Christ, than if we had continued in the state of innocence. The happiness and felicity of those, who, after great conflict, much tribulation and affliction, at length attain to perfect rest and peaceful enjoyment, is doubtless incomparably greater than that of those who have lived in an uninterrupted state of repose and innocence, and have never

experienced what conflict or suffering was—an observation which many have already made, because it contains a truth which is founded on the experience of human life.

We must take the word of God in its connexion, and Christ and his work of redemption, as he is made and given to us of God, in its entire extent and fulness, otherwise we lessen this divine Redeemer. For he is a perfect Redeemer, who intends replacing his elect in the glorious—nay, even in a far more glorious state than that of Adam before the fall.

It has often surprised me to hear, that preachers who sincerely profess the religion of Jesus, and are convinced of the necessity of conversion and regeneration, refuse to consider anything as valid but the first principles of religion, and believe those to be under a mistake, who, not satisfied with these, insist upon a more strict and godly life. It is, indeed, the case, that in their public discourses to a mixed congregation they cannot well bring forward much more than the knowledge of our sinful state, the necessity of repentance, conversion, regeneration, &c., in general and biblical expressions, without entering into the detail and the depth in which an experienced soul apprehends and appropriates these general expressions. It would not be acting wisely to lay before the eyes of those who have scarcely made the commencement,

the entire process or path of sanctification to the consummation of union with God in Christ. But an experienced teacher knows how, in this respect also, rightly to divide the word of God, and to bring forth out of the good treasure of his heart, things new and old, according to the necessities of his hearers; so that every one, in his particular circumstances, may receive instruction, consolation, or encouragement to press onward for the prize, if he be really desirous of obtaining it.

A well-meaning preacher, who is not exercised in the inward paths of self-denial and mortification, ought to teach and inculcate the doctrine of godliness as far as he understands and comprehends it; but he must not endeavour to make us suspect that which is revealed in the word of God, and which points out how far believers ought and are able to advance in the strength of Jesus; this is really vilifying Jesus and his religion, and denying that he has the power to bring his believing people further than the first boundaries of conversion. It is, on the contrary, honourable to our religion that its chief object and the centre of its doctrine, Jesus Christ, is a *perfect* Redeemer. His entire work of redemption is not limited merely to the mediatorial office—that God for the sake of his atoning sacrifice forgives us all our past sins, and is willing to be again a gracious God to us; but he also purposes to redeem us from the ser-

vice and slavery of sin, deliver us from that innate depravity from whence all our evil arises and springs forth—our pride—and render us again subject to God in all things. In the fellowship and in union with the Father and the Son, through the Holy Spirit, we are to find eternal satisfaction and blessedness ; for this purpose, also, he became our Redeemer.

Everything in nature rises up in opposition to our holy religion ; the powers of darkness, unbelief, and false illumination strive together to accomplish its entire overthrow, yet I believe that Jesus will so much the more abundantly and efficiently pour out his Holy Spirit,* renew the face of the earth, and form and prepare such instruments as shall be examples to his church. And certainly, those whom he has rau-

* Permit me here to mention a thought that occurred to me on reading this passage. When the first great outpouring of the Holy Spirit took place for the purpose of founding the christian church, all the disciples of Jesus were assembled together *with one accord*. May not this also be the case at the approaching re-founding and erection of the christian church—if not in one place, yet in unanimity of sentiment, after renouncing all particular opinions in religious matters? And do we not already see a pleasing prelude to this in the paternal association of the English Missionary Society, in which all parties have so very amicably united for one object? It even seems that false tolerance and illumination prepared the way for that true charity which abideth for ever.—*Jung Stilling*.

somed, redeemed, and reconciled by his blood, sanctified by his Spirit, and re-united with the Deity by himself, shall be enabled to endure in the hour of temptation, in which, when carried to its highest pitch by the liberated powers of darkness, scarcely even the elect shall be safe from deception—they shall, in the severest trials, boldly confess Jesus as their Saviour, Mediator, and their God, even should they be compelled to seal their confession with their blood.

I would, therefore, fraternally request those of my readers, of whatever denomination they may be, who act in the capacity of teachers of our most holy religion, and sincerely confess that Jesus Christ is the Son of God and the Redeemer of mankind, as well as all those who are not teachers, yet cordially believe this—not to reject so entirely, without due examination, what they have not themselves seen and experienced. He who is in reality a member of the body of Christ participates also in all the privileges of the other members of the same body. We must not, from self-love and religious despotism, reject the good which others possess, although we may not be able fully to receive it, and thus be desirous of dividing the garment of Jesus, which ought not to be divided.

From all that I have now said, I do not by any means intend to give myself out as a teacher—on the contrary, I would merely entreat as a brother. I am no teacher, still less a learned man. But as God has

granted me a degree of ability to judge in some measure of what I see, hear, and read ; and as I have further spent a considerable time in the school of Jesus, and have experienced many things under his cross, which cannot be learnt in worldly universities, I may be accounted in some measure a scribe instructed for the kingdom of heaven. Providence having so ordered it that I should have frequent opportunity of experiencing much in the world, and by the divine guidance, with respect to myself also, I have therefore regarded it as my duty to yield to the kind entreaties of my friends, and write the history of my life, in the humble hope that those who are seeking salvation may find something in my pilgrimage for their instruction and encouragement. It furnishes a narrative of events and experience, although in a rude, uncomely dress.

The philosophy of the present day seeks to pull down and destroy everything that has any reference to the religion of Jesus. It seeks, in the place of the God of the Bible, to give us the God of nature, of rather no God ; for even if it still admits a God, yet it is such a one as cannot afford us help or satisfy our necessities ; and such a God is of no use to us. Whilst inquiring into the causes of all the aberrations of the human understanding from the path of truth, I have found that pride is the chief of them. I have seen that mankind, from the first and most celebrated

philosopher down to the most untutored savage, are full of pride, self-love, and self-conceit. Instead of placing the powers of their souls in humble dependence upon, and submission to, God their Creator, and his order, and thus ennobling them to conformity to his image, they have taken an entirely wrong direction. They seek to exalt themselves in everything, and rob God of that which belongs to him. The pride of reason would subjugate every creature, and even God himself, to its sway. Everything must be governed according to human reason, and all have reference to him. At the same time, he remains a captive slave, and reason cannot deliver him. But he that believes and obeys the revelation of God in the Bible, and seeks with all fidelity to do what it points out, receiving Jesus Christ as his only Redeemer, in all the characters in which he is presented to us therein—such a one is a perfectly free man, because the Son of God makes him free. He is not only free under the divine government, but also under every human government.

Self-love, even in natural things, when it surpasses its bounds, is hateful and contemptible. Yet it is, in a certain sense, the main-spring of all the good as well as evil actions of mankind. Without it man would be an inactive machine. But if he were in the divine order, the whole of this principle would be subject to God, and man would be in that harmony

with God in which the creature ought to stand with his Creator. It is therefore his primary and supreme duty to fulfil the purpose of his creation, and submit himself entirely to God and his order. But he is by nature no longer in a state of connexion with God, he seeks himself in everything; his own greatness and aggrandisement is the supreme object of his thoughts and actions, and his innate thirst for happiness, which ought to seek its satisfaction in God, is turned to the creature, and thus the order of God is entirely reversed, and in this lies the foundation of his dissatisfaction and unhappiness.

Since our necessities and our thirst for enjoyment can only be satisfied by the source of all happiness, it has pleased God in his infinite goodness, to afford us means and instructions how we may attain to this blessing. He, therefore, who, renouncing all ungodliness, employs these means, and believingly receives Him who can redeem him from sin, is on the way to submission to the divine government, and to the satisfying of his spiritual necessities. But he is still only on the way to it. There remains much to be overcome, much to be mortified, which cannot consist with the followship of a holy God. Here our pride and self-love still continue the worst and most obstinate foes. He that is acquainted with his own heart, and the paths which revelation points out, or even observes those pilgrims who seek with all fidelity

to walk in the ways of godliness, will still perceive this enemy both in himself and others. Subtle self-love continually insinuates itself even under the most specious appearances, into our best actions, and even into the most painful feelings of our sinfulness and corruption, although contrary to the will of the renewed soul. (Rom. vii. 22—25.) Nay, there are many instances of souls which, having received particular gifts and grace from the Lord, had in consequence of them thought so highly of themselves, and become so proud, that the Lord was compelled, as it were, to leave them to themselves, and they soon fell into some grievous sin. But this was the only means of bringing them down from their spiritual pride, and of convincing them of their dangerous state, and not only of the necessity of amendment, but of assistance in bringing it about.

What controversies, quarrels, and even acts of violence have frequently occurred amongst those who cannot be denied at the same time to have possessed a measure of grace, and good and pious sentiments, to the offence and grief of other pious people.*

* He that is in any manner acquainted with, and has impartially examined, the history of the church, will be sufficiently convinced of this. From the source of human pride and self-love, all religious controversies, separations, &c. have arisen, in direct opposition to the peaceful and gentle principles of the religion of Jesus, which enjoins charity,

Spiritual dogmaticalness, that pernicious fruit of the tree of self-love, has always been a principal root of these lamentable and offensive contentions, and yet how often does the Christian suffer himself to be carried away by it ! Ought it not to be a part, therefore, of the perfect work of our perfect Redeemer to make us completely free from this bitter root, from whence so much evil proceeds ? Ought not his perfect redemption to be powerful enough to accomplish the complete eradication of these evil principles ? I sincerely believe that he, as a perfect Redeemer, can and will do it. But the methods he employs for this purpose are disagreeable to our self-love, and cannot be otherwise, because they are destructive to it. Hence it resists them with all its might, and refuses to hear anything of such methods in the work of redemption. But our Saviour and his apostles have neither prescribed any other way to us, nor preceded us in it. But these paths, as already observed, are not the same for all. Jesus Christ is such a wise

forbearance, and tolerance upon all its professors. In the present position of mankind there is something that incites men more than ever to press and strive with each other ; there is a visible separating between light and darkness, and a more than usual adhering together of the members of each of these principles. This is perhaps primarily necessary in order to produce, in the existing situation of things, according to the wise arrangement of the Creator, at the time appointed by him, which is perhaps no longer very distant, a beautiful and harmonious whole.

physician, that he alone is best acquainted with the medicines which are suitable for each of his patients, and by the use of which he is able and willing to heal them. Prescribing rules for him, in this respect, would be infringing upon the rights of his divine majesty. It is sufficient for the patient to know that though he was sick unto death, yet he is now made whole.

Mortification, self-annihilation, and the losing of our self-love and pride are terms employed to express a thing for which no precisely suitable word can be found. But if the thing itself be accomplished, the words are of little consequence. It is, generally speaking, very difficult to indicate things by words, which are not known through the medium of the senses, but by deep and heartfelt experience.

Abstractedly considered, the soul and its substance cannot be annihilated. But the principle of corruption which lies in the soul of man, and is so interwoven with it, as to make, so to speak, one thing with it—this corrupt principle is eradicated or annihilated by those arrangements and methods which our gracious God knows to be the best for every individual; or, according to the scriptural expression, he dies to the old man; and when the latter is dead and decayed, an entirely new creation gradually appears in its place. This is the new man, “which after God is created in righteousness and true holiness,” and which the believing Ephesians, according to the exhortation of Paul,

(ch. iv. 24,) had still to put on. This new man is, and becomes more and more renewed after the image of him that created him, (Col. iii. 10.) When this new man is put on, the individual is again in the divine order. By humiliating paths of suffering and affliction the old man, the former proud and God-resisting mind, dies and is annihilated, and the renewed will, or new man, which is entirely subjugated to God, comes in its stead. Through the redemption by Christ, the man enters into the forfeited rights and privileges of his creation; he is become a new creature in Christ. With reference to this death and this life, Paul expresses himself frequently and remarkably, especially in those passages—"I live, yet not I, but Christ liveth in me;" "I am dead, and my life is hid with Christ in God."

In the state of nature, man, as frequently observed, is out of the order of God. By conversion he comes into a state of grace, and again into the order which God has appointed for his salvation. According to the requirements of this divine order, the convert must deny himself, die to his lusts and appetites, and follow Jesus. But as he is unable to do this of himself, strength and support are afforded him by the Spirit, through faith in the Redeemer. But with all the individual's fidelity and labour in self-denial and mortification, even whilst co-operating with and assisted by the grace and strength vouchsafed him from

above, this proud and self-loving principle still strives for the mastery, though against the will and to the great grief of the individual, and often shows itself more odiously than it had ever done before. The convert now gradually perceives, and is perfectly convinced by the Spirit of Jesus, that it is impossible for him utterly to eradicate this selfish principle, with all his self-denial and mortification ; he therefore resigns himself entirely to the Lord, and offers himself up to him, that by his divine power he may extirpate this evil principle, this root of corruption. God accepts the sacrifice, continues his gracious work alone, and completes it also. He leads the individual in paths, in which he is truly saved by grace alone. These paths, for the most part, run entirely contrary to his ideas and mode of thinking. God himself guides him in such a manner, that he loses all confidence in himself, but by entire resignation, finds anew in God, through Christ, salvation, life, and blessedness.

Being at length rendered perfectly submissive to the divine government, he attains to a true life of liberty. His godliness no longer possesses anything of a limited nature. Integrity, sincerity, truth, innocence, and benevolence are now the natural qualities of his being. He is born again, and become a child ; Jesus was the way, and now becomes the truth and the life. In such a converted character, God through Christ is all in all. The new man, who after God is

created in righteousness and true holiness, enjoys fellowship and union with God through Christ. This is become the fundamental principle of his being ; it has now the entire dominion over the rational soul, which is wholly subordinate to it ; the man's natural pride and self-love being broken, annihilated, and eradicated. This principle continues the lord and master in the individual, brings him near to God and eternity, and is alone subject to God in Christ.

In this state, the man, as such, has no longer anything good in himself, or, in other words, he no longer regards the good as his own. He now understands in their proper sense the words of our Saviour, when he says, that " no one is good but God alone." From the seraph to the meanest creature in the whole universe, there is nothing good but God. All the good that creation exhibits emanates from God, but must flow back to him again. No sooner does the creature endeavour to appropriate it to himself, than he deviates from the divine order and is on the road to become a devil. Ah, how I rejoice that my God is alone good, that he is all in all to me in Jesus, and that in comparison with him, I am poor and naked, and a mere nothing, and that through this alone I am rendered subordinate to him. My poverty, emptiness, nakedness, and nothingness finds in thee, O thou Source of all good, all light, and all felicity ! all that can satisfy my necessities, and my thirst for happiness.

There is much controversy respecting perfection, and it is asked whether a man can become perfect here, or attain to perfection? From what has been premised, it follows that God alone is good and perfect in the true unlimited sense of the word. If the creature possessed any good in itself, which it could call its own, it would no longer be subordinate to God; it would possess a something of its own, and be proud of it. But when the individual is under the divine government and order, he participates in all the good, and in all the perfections of God.* He is able always to regard him in Jesus as his dear and heavenly Father. But even as all good and all felicity flows from God, the source, into the creature, it must also flow back again from the latter into God. As soon as the creature seeks to appropriate anything to itself, it departs from God, it ceases to harmonise with him, and becomes unhappy.

According to this fundamental principle, such a soul is *unity*; whilst, according to its rational and in-

* In this sense, and in this manner, the followers of Jesus are to be "perfect as their Father in heaven is perfect." (Matt. v. 48.) In fellowship with God, the creature is perfect according to the new man, who after God is created in righteousness and true holiness, because it is united with God through Christ, according to this new quality. Irrespective of this, the individual can never be perfect, otherwise he would be equal with God, and no longer subordinate to him.

tellectual part, it is, and continues manifold ; but everything is subordinate to God, and thus the individual continues in the true order of God, and enjoys the beatific vision, the communion of saints on earth, and of God, and Christ, and the holy angels in heaven.

Thus far Jesus, as a holy Redeemer, is willing and able to bring his elect. It was the object of his coming into this world, and of his entire work of redemption ; and the object of God in the creation of man is thus fulfilled and accomplished by the redemption that is in Christ Jesus.

CONCLUSION.

Brief account of the close of the author's life, extracted from a letter, dated Saarn, near Mühlheim on the Rhur, August 11, 1836.

AFTER residing for about a year in the town of Essau, our friend Stahlschmidt came in the spring of the year 1812, and took up his abode with us, in this country spot, where he spent the remainder of his days in a private and retired manner. He generally walked out twice a-day into the woods, or elsewhere, for his refreshment, and felt a particular pleasure in perusing the accounts of the extension of the Redeemer's kingdom, contained in the Basle Missionary Magazine. In some of them he took a peculiar interest, observing that he was as well acquainted with the districts referred to, as with that in which he was then residing. He was also constantly engaged

in some occupation of a useful nature, because he regarded doing nothing as the most laborious employment; and this he continued to the latest period of his life, which was protracted to the age of eighty-six.

At first, he was much inclined to a contemplative life, but afterwards sought to be useful to others, unwilling to bury his talents in a napkin. He instructed several youths in geography during certain hours of the day, and assisted in the translation of missionary intelligence from the English, regularly attended divine service on Sunday at the church, led a blameless life, and was universally beloved.

I wrote down some of his expressions towards the close of his earthly career, which struck me as being remarkable, but beside these, I am not able to relate anything particular respecting our departed friend, since experience proves, that the path of the Christian becomes more and more uniform, simple, and child-like.

Once when I was with him, after sitting for a time in silence, he said, "I often think I have been so long a pilgrim, and am conscious that my sole efforts have been to love the Lord, and live so as to please him; and yet I am still so imperfect at it. This falling short, however, does not hinder me from applying confidentially to him, and I am frequently conscious of

something, though not with any particular degree of emotion, yet still it is a sense of the Lord's nearness ; and I feel the most comfortable when alone with him ; I can then tell him everything in a child-like manner."

At another time—"I shall not die like a hero, for I am only a poor sinner, who only possesses God through Christ our Redeemer as his Father. No one is good but God alone ; and then there is nothing good in the whole universe, from the loftiest seraph to the meanest worm, but God alone. Happy is he that hath experienced this ! Such a one passes by all particular lights, and everything of an extraordinary nature, and finds its rest in God."

"Thou, my gracious God and Father, and my faithful Redeemer, Jesus Christ, assist me, and bring me safely through ! I have nothing to offer, but the inward centre of my soul, which filially cleaves to thee, O my God !"

"The Lord is good to me ; he is my gracious Father in Christ Jesus." The last words he uttered, and which were scarcely any longer audible, were

" At length, at length the end appears
Of all our sorrow, strife, and tears ;
The new-born soul then sinks to rest
For ever on its Saviour's breast."

He expired on the 1st of June, 1826, aged eighty-six years, of mere old age and debility.

THE END.

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